

RADE: Battling the American Way • **HEALTH:** Who Will Pay for Viagra?

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MARCH 22, 1999

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Macleans's This Week

CANADIAN
WEEKLY
NEWSMAGAZINE

MARCH 22, 1998 VOL. 25 NO. 12

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March 22, a national week, marks the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. It is a time to reflect on the sacrifices made by Canadians and the lessons learned. The week is also a time to celebrate the achievements of Canadians who have made significant contributions to the world. The week is a time to look forward to a future of peace and prosperity for all.

COVER photos (left to right): Sarah Michelle Gellar, Joshua Jackson, Jennifer Love Hewitt, Randy

COVER

TEEN POWER

42 Never before have so many teenagers pitched so much as so many who are so young. Today's teens—the baby boomers' kids, also called the Echo or Y Generation—have money in their pockets and a burgeoning consumer culture in music, movies, TV and fashion.



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Trade battles

Even as the struggle with Washington over marijuana policy ended, more disputes loomed for Trade Minister Sergio Marchi and Canadian exporters.



14 High stakes

While Brian Columbia Premier Givens fights for his future, speculation and scheming mount over when he might go—and who would replace him.



58 Who will pay for Viagra?

The much-publicized antidepressant drug Viagra will be in Canadian pharmacies by the end of the month. But at \$15 a pill, who will pick up the tab?



60 Hollywood's Oscar wars

The 71st annual Academy Awards will be a real contest, with the leading contenders, including *Shakespeare in Love*, squaring off in a showdown between love and war.



Morissette: art more important than image

Alanis's world

Conversations on putting the reluctant Celine Dion Morissette on your cover, and for your latest, we had a special article ("Bewitching Nana" March 8). They are a fitting tribute to a young Canadian singer finally placing her artistic identity above her fame. An unlikely Morissette fan (I'm nearly 60 and don't even like rock music), I brought her first CD along during her June visit. I thought it was that CD repeatedly, fascinated by how she enters another world when she sings a world where she is accountable only to herself in a world where being true to her art is more important than justifying an image. Hearing that truth-seeking voice, I began to appreciate her authenticity among pop singers.

Ruth Dorn,
St. Catharines, Ont.

Was it really necessary to have the March 8 issue guaranteed by such a housing lobbyist group as Alanis Morissette? How is Canadian culture served by giving this loud-mouthed shock rocker a platform on which

to display her self-controversy and her sexual promiscuity? Some of Morissette's lyrics would make Howard Stern blush. It is a shame that Morissette keeps hogging the headline, because there is no lack of Canadians who perform who can convey profound emotion without explicit lyrics or sexual words.

Christopher Lee-Lee
Kensington, Ont.

Life on the street

As a person who has lived on the street, I heard "Small solutions" (Canada Special Report, March 8) quite interesting. One great deal of the people in the article, I was not involved with drugs or alcohol. I had opened my own business with my savings, and in a year, lost everything. I was homeless by choice, choosing not to borrow friends or family. I lived on the streets of St. Catharines, Ont., for three months and slept on a friend's couch for another eight months. I would not wish that life on my worst enemy. I never asked for pity and I never asked for handouts, but there are indeed people who play the system. It was not uncommon to see people spend their days getting free meals from religious organizations and then nights getting drunk or stoned. There is also the \$2,000 club people diagnosed with schizophrenia or manic depression, who get \$1,000 a month disability. I have seen many of them spend their money on drugs the first week of the month, then they get up on sleeping on the street because they have no money. Unfortunately, I believe we have more people in our working-class people to the streets. What is the answer—education, compassion, public care? We have to open our hearts to these people.

Michael Tsui
St. Catharines, Ont.

The home-work split

I am a man and I am a full-time stay-at-home parent. I am amazed that liberated feminist women in 1991 accepted the irony of it: men are a part of it and don't care to be. ("The mother load," Cover, March 8). In my circle of friends and acquaintances, more than a quarter of the parents who choose to stay home are male. The fact that you as home dads aren't even mentioned in your article isn't just out of touch, it is unfair. Raising said child, I see no inherent irony in my situation. While many stay-at-home

The Chivalvo effect

My daughter was vice-principal at Chinguacousy Secondary School north of Toronto. Knowing my interest in boxing, she wanted me to hear George Chivalvo speak to the assembly ("Coming out swinging," Profile, March 8). To a full audience of teenagers, Chivalvo came on dressed in an old T-shirt and baggy trousers. For the next hour, the audience was entranced. He was direct, sincere, vulnerable and very, very articulate. He could have headed a pro drop as he discussed his life and delivered his tirade against the use of drugs. I was truly impressed. Believe me, Chivalvo is making a real difference with the young crowd.

Norina R. Auld,
Toronto

Now I know active such unfair criticism as "You're wasting your life." I receive nothing but congratulations on my doing nothing.

Thomas Hering
Windsor

Feminism was supposed to be the ultimate liberation for women. In reality, it has generated only guilt and has left women the chain from the house to the office. How has our society become so heartless and without compassion that it has taken away one of the natural pleasures of a parent and child: constant companionship on a daily basis. Mary Nemetz is honest and clearly says what I feel is heart wrenching. ("A lonely stays home," Interview, 1). I feel the reaction of a potential employer on seeing a five- or six-year "hole" in my resume. If all families had a parent at home to do the child-rearing school-age years, then that hole would be a worldwide standard and not something employers could discriminate against. Let's take heart in the words of Peter Dinklage from *Invictus*. I would be asked to be the main actor, the world's one-man show—it's called *Invictus*. 50 per cent of the brain power. No doubt by the time I read my power suit again it will be out of style, but I am confident it will be a new one—made for me. The boys can have the handouts for jobs. I'm staying at home.

Jill Foster
Dunlop, Prince

SPENT THE MAIL

spend many years in day care) is at the top of his class. It seems to me that the people in your article want it all: high-paying, full-time jobs, a huge house, one beautiful new car and perfect looks. Then they wonder why they're unhappy. There is a simple answer. As I always tell my seven-year-old son, you can't have it all.

Karen Hansen
Portage, Ont., Wild

You missed in mentioning an essential problem in the work/life/home dilemma: the instability of marriage. Many people live in relationships that by definition have no commitment. Many women know this, but they don't want to tell their partner what they never know when their partner will announce "I don't want to be married to you any more." Therefore, neither partner can afford to stay out of the job market, and lose security, experience and pension rights. No wonder there is a "mother load."

Rhonda MacCollins
Belleville

I had to punch myself! Was I dreaming? Was this a 1996 copy of *Madden*? In a society where women and men are equal, the cover line would not ask "Should men stay home?" but rather "Should one parent stay home?"

Enella Thomson,
Ottawa, Ont.

Women ambassadors

The acknowledgment of Margaret Thatcher as the world's first woman ambassador was a step, but only as the nation's first woman ambassador. (Interview, March 8). Irene Pebley, minister without portfolio in the United Farmers of Alberta government of Alberta, and one of the "Five Persons," was appointed by Prime Minister L.B. Bennett as Canada's first woman delegate (ambassador) to the League of Nations in 1920.

Brian Lempert,
Red Deer, Alta.

Macleans's

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The Road Ahead

A speculation tax to help the poor

In recent weeks, the issue pined over 67 columns (11.5%) for the first time in months. Why did it happen? Was it a sign of the end of the Japanese economy? Was it the challenge of the euro as a competitor to the U.S. dollar? Whatever the answer, it appears that control of our own currency is out of our hands, and therein lies the problem. Each year, some \$2.3 trillion changes hands in currency speculation. Much of that is a rip-off of a few dollars. Let's explain that the lowest of margins produces tremendous profit for the bankers and brokers on the world's Big Street.

What are the results of this unchecked speculation? Remember back to the summer of 1997 with the Asian flu, the beginning of the run on the Canadian dollar and the current loss of Russian stocks. Remember the peso crisis in 1994, the 1992 European exchange problems and the 1992-1993 stock market collapse. Sure, a few bankers and brokers gave up their lives. Merciless banks, but the real impact was felt by the poor—in Russia, in Asia and in Canada. In Canada, it is forecast that about 30 per cent of the population will live below the poverty line this year, compared with only 10 per cent a year ago. Even George Soros, billionaire and neo-philosopher, reckons that the global movement of capital is more like a wrecking ball than a pendulum, causing short-term problems and long-term devastation.

One leader to manage the worst effects of currency speculation is the so-called Nobel Tax. Named after the Nobel economist James Tobin, the proposal would apply a 0.1-to-0.5 per cent transaction fee on any spec-

ulative currency conversion. Many people believe there would be two benefits. The first would be a reduction in exchange rate volatility. For a currency transaction to be profitable, the change in value must be greater than the proposed fee. Since speculative trades occur on tiny margins, a fee would reduce the incentive to speculate because profits would shrink. A stabilized currency means that the real value in an economy such as Canada's would become a more important guideline for capital investment.

The second benefit could be an annual tax revenue in the \$150-billion to \$300-billion range worldwide. That revenue would go towards basic social services for the world's poor. For example, in 1997 the United Nations calculated that the cost of eliminating absolute poverty by providing basic health care, nutrition, primary education, and clean water and sanitation would be \$55 billion to \$100 billion a year. The Rio Earth Summit in 1992 concluded that about \$150 billion a year would begin to address the worst environmental problems. If we acknowledge that speculative investments exacerbated the collapse of economies (with ripple effects felt in Canada), and if we make solutions to the problems of poverty and the environment as close at hand, the Tobin Tax on speculation has strong appeal.

Next week, the House of Commons will vote on the NDP bill to come. Right-wing pundits are making a mockery of the government to take a leadership role to promote the implementation of a tax on currency speculation. Will our dollar need to dip to new record lows before we act?

The *Small Solutions* column is a special section devoted to current events and social issues. *Small Solutions* is a special section devoted to current events and social issues.

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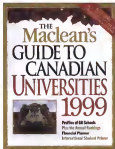
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Backstage



Anthony Wilson-Smith

In praise of public broadcasting

In Churchill's *The Last Lion*, William Manchester's brilliant biography of Sir Winston Churchill, the author recounts a visit that his protagonist received from Jan Christian Smuts, the president of South Africa. Smuts brought a bottle of what he described as South African brandy, and offered to share it. Churchill had a taste, snarled it around, swallowed, and murmured "Ah, my dear Smuts, it is excellent," he said, before adding: "But it is not brandy."

The same can be said about much of what passes as news. Many items on television newscasts and in print are put there for their interest—but not, in the end, their relevance to most readers or viewers. The obvious example is Monica Lewinsky's recent interview with ABC's Barbara Walters. With impressive ratings for the Clinton cover, how much more does anyone need to know? But CTV's *Canada AM* devoted almost its entire show for several days running recently to promoting the interview—for which, by no coincidence, the network held Canadian broadcast rights.

That doesn't mean CTV did anything unethical or unusual: the line between news and in-house program plugs has always been blurry in this media. News can be educational and entertaining, but is usually either one or the other, not both. That's why newspaper front pages and covers of magazines such as this one feature careful mixes of the most important news of the week—as well as less weighty but more compelling items. Also, the selection of news depends heavily upon who will read or watch it. If you read the *National Post* or the *Globe and Mail*, you might think that the most powerful people in Canada are the wealthy—billionaires and billionaires by high tens. One reason is that both papers aim to appeal specifically to rich readers. Similarly, all major American television networks, with the exception of CBS, acknowledge that they ignore viewers over 50 when planning programming. That's because sponsors only care about the youth market. Then, there's the trend of conglomerates buying television networks, and taking them as vehicles for their interests. At ABC, it's widely believed that a story investigating reports of pedophilia at Disneyland last year was ordered killed by Disney management—which owns the network.

All of which brings to mind the troubled CBC, and the customer in which it differs from private sector counterparts. The CBC's base of strength and weakness are one in a large extent, it doesn't have to worry about ratings. That takes it out of lockstep with other networks—and sometimes, unfortunately, the interests of most viewers. If you have your view of Canada only as CBC current-affairs shows, you might think the country consists solely of joyless, oppressed special interest groups. Its *Newsweek* business reports,

except for those by Pat Boland, are proof that the world of commerce can be rendered stupefyingly boring 10 times out of 10. Some current-affairs hosts no love their own voices: that it's somewhat startling when they let guests actually respond. And CBC's attempts at being cool are so predictable. It fires whatever aging *Old-Time* reporters it can fish from Toronto's *City TV*; then, it tries to lead it down a sense of grandeur to make them as current as everyone else at the network. The end result has the awkward, embarrassed look of a dog wearing shoes.

But when CBC does something well, few do it better—starting with the news. Consider the quality of its reporters: its superb London correspondent Don Murray, for one, is a published author, fluent in English, French, Russian, Czech and Mandarin-Chinese. Don Murray's television program on *Newsweek* is what politicians wish to learn more about their profession. No program goes uncut in the news, even as effectively as Wendy Mesley's *Undercurrent*. The calm, quietly authoritative Alison Smith is among the best host/interviewers in TV-land—as she proved with her bravura on-air performance following the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in 1997.

These days, critics lobber uncut and other woes, the CBC is right to worry about its future. It has few friends in Ottawa, or the rest of the media. Management seems unable to accept that it can no longer afford to do it all—now does—from original drama to regional newscasts to comprehensive news services—and do it well. The recent decision to reduce services and probably personnel at three foreign bureaus is the most famous example of the cost of that paralysis.

Too bad. Free from worry about advertisers and demographics, the CBC is the only network that tries to speak to all Canadians. Of course, private networks also care about viewer concerns, but their primary obligation is to shareholders, and the need to maximize profits. Consequently the \$30 a year it costs each Canadian to subscribe the CBC makes everyone an equal shareholder. The important that ratings alone decide what news is important is absurd: debates about health and social policy are far less thrilling than Lewinsky's fling with Clinton, but they decide what kind of treatment you'll receive if ill, and how you'll survive if you lose your job.

A public broadcaster provides a sense of conscience in journalism, unhampered by bottom-line concerns. Foreign coverage is a good example. It's always possible to save money by hiring less coverage from American networks, but these efforts lack Canadian content and relevance. As Churchill might have said, such coverage may be excellent—but it isn't ours. If a 400 channel universe is an inevitable part of globalization, a reality, clearly Canadian CBC becomes more, not less, important than ever.

Opening NOTES

Edited by JAMES EVERTS

A Canadian takes her case to the UN

Calgarian Hensley Smith persuades herself. Shortly after she decided to stay at home to raise the first of her four children 23 years ago, the former junior-high schoolteacher was surprised, then insulted, by how she became what she describes as "a second-class citizen." For Smith, who is married to Gordon, a journalist, Canada's tax laws were a major irritant. They provided generous credits for families with two working parents who used day care or nannies, but no comparable benefits for families who chose to have one parent stay at home. Smith wrote countless letters to the federal government, usually receiving forms letter in reply. She also lodged four complaints with the Canadian Human Rights Commission, claiming, among other things, that Canada's tax laws discriminate on the basis of gender (because most homemakers are women) and religion (because having a parent stay at home is a philosophical choice for some). Eventually, her claims were rejected.

So two years ago, Smith took her case to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, backing it up with letters of support from women's groups from as far afield as



Australia. Last week, a UN committee put to discuss her complaint, and later issued a report that "noted with concern remaining discriminatory provisions against women in national legal systems." Smith claimed victory, saying she has won the battle for greater public awareness. "People are now talking about this issue around the country," says Smith, who returned to teaching last fall after her youngest child turned 15. "It's on the talk shows, it's being discussed in the House of Commons." And in countries around the world.

Smith: Canada's tax laws for stay-at-home moms make her feel like a second-class citizen.

CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

I was supposed to be a series of low-key chats with groups of public Canadians. But when the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission decided to hold "consultations" in 11 cities as the future of the CBC, the federal regularer seriously underestimated the level of interest. At the meetings held from March 9 to 18, the CRTC had to scramble to cope with a flood of requests for people wanting a chance to speak. Extra sessions were added in almost every city and bigger hotel conference balls were hastily booked.



Beatty: due to be replaced

corporation's senior management is distracted by labour strife, technicians are already on the picket line, and cover personalities could soon join them if contract talks fail. Even worse, the CBC's current president, Perry Beatty, is a lame duck, slated to be replaced by fall.

For its part, the Liberal government involved an omnibus about what to do, if anything, to rejuvenate the Mulroney Corp. But that means, stopped the concerned viewers and listeners who estimated the public meetings. One prevalent theme: local stations matter. That message will not be welcomed by the CBC's executives who insist on a chance to get officials to shift resources towards national services. Stay tuned.

EMPORIUM

According to Statistics Canada, the modern Canadian family is shrinking, with fewer children per family than in decades past. By percentage.

Number of children	1931	1961	1996
One child	26%	29%	45%
Two	34	39	48
Three	17	18	34
Four	11	11	3
Five or more	21	23	2

GOLDFARE POLL

When 1,400 Canadians were asked whether they believe it is important to have a satisfying religious or spiritual life, the majority agreed. More women said it is "very important," while more men believe that it is "not important at all." By percentage of adults.

	Male	Female
Very important	28	36
Moderately or slightly important	64	62
Not important	18	12

(DATA COLLECTED FEBRUARY 1996) (STATISTICS CANADA) (STATISTICS)

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DOUBLE TAKE

Mike Bossy

New York Islander Mike Bossy faced "Hickies, he scored" more than most players in the NHL. The Montreal native still holds the league record for consecutive 50-goal seasons, at nine. The Islanders first-round draft pick in 1977, Bossy remembers how bright and how fun going to his first pro season training camp. "I really wasn't sure I'd make the team," recalls Bossy, now 49. He soon proved he could play with the big boys when he shattered the rookie scoring record with 35 goals, and won the Calder trophy for rookie of the year. When the Islanders captured four straight Stanley Cups in the early 1980s, Bossy was the most-talented sharpshooter in the league. But a chronic lower-

back injury forced him to retire in 1990—after winning the Lady Byng Trophy, for gentlemanly play, three times and scoring 1,136 points in 752 games. His 573 goals gave him the third-highest goal-scoring average in NHL history. Bossy returned to Montreal and co-hosted a local TV celebrity talk show for four months. After working briefly as a stockbroker, he was hired by Small Fry Inc.—the makers of Hungry Dumpty points chips—as the director of public relations in 1998. He and Lucie, his wife of 22 years, now live in Bloomers, Que., with their two teenage daughters. Last month, Bossy played hockey for the first time in eight years. The pick-up game with friends left his back as sore that he says he won't play again. But he adds with a smile, "I still have a couple of moves."

LENN FISHER

POP MOVIES

Naturally attracted

A romantic comedy about opposites attracting, *Forces of Nature* stars Ben Affleck as a conservative New England prepster and Sandra Bullock, who, in a change from her typical girl-next-door roles, portrays an eccentric New Yorker.



Box weekend in Canada
opened according to
box office receipts:
during the week (in
thousands of dollars):
17. The Incredibles, new
best of weekend (weekend
opening): 2,300
weekend gross (weekend
opening): 2,300

1. <i>Quantum Leap</i> (1997-11)	27,150,000
2. <i>Amelia</i> (1991-12)	21,950,000
3. <i>Eight Mile</i> (1999-02)	17,100,000
4. <i>The Hot Chick</i> (1999-02)	16,050,000
5. <i>Stolen Summer</i> (1999-02)	15,000,000
6. <i>Prey</i> (1997-11)	14,000,000
7. <i>My Favorite Martian</i> (1999-02)	13,750,000
8. <i>Shrek</i> (1999-02)	13,700,000
9. <i>Life as a House</i> (1999-02)	13,650,000
10. <i>Shrek 2</i> (1999-02)	13,600,000

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Tenthredin*, John Grisham (12)
2. *Signs & Symbols*, John A. Cozzit
3. *In God*, James Leavelle (12)
4. *The Prisoner's Dilemma*, Barbara Engelstein (12)
5. *A Golden Orange of Heat*, Barbara Engelstein (12)
6. *Witness*, Jodi Picoult (12)
7. *The Last of a Kind Woman*, Abigail Thorne (12)
8. *From the Heart of the Matter*, David Mervin (12)
9. *Stolen Summer*, Thomas M. Wright (12)
10. *A Man in the Hat*, Sue White (12)

NONFICTION

1. *Warrior's Edge*, Andrew Martin
2. *Warrior's Edge*, Andrew Martin
3. *The Believers*, Carolyn Kennedy (12)
4. *The Professor and the Madwoman*, Susan McClendon (12)
5. *Thrive*, Peter C. Newman (12)
6. *Beauty Politics*, Judith A. Pomeroy (12)
7. *Caroline's Kitchen*, Peter C. Newman (12)
8. *Just Tired*, Susan McClendon (12)
9. *Just Tired*, Susan McClendon (12)
10. *Just Tired*, Susan McClendon (12)

(1) Fiction best seller
Compiled by Brian Johnson

Real-life fiction

Set in the wake of the 1999 Montreal massacre at Ecole polytechnique, Lisa Appeman's novel, *The Seed of Winter* (McClelland & Co.) opens with actress Madeleine (Bridget) Bell, that someone is striking her. Her death, three weeks after Marc Laporte killed 14 female university students, begins a chilling study in mass obsession.



Passages

DIED: One of the foremost violinists of the century, **Isidor Menushe**, 82, of heart failure, in Berlin. Born in New York City, Menushe made his debut performance at age 9. By 13, he had already won six accolades in Berlin, Paris and London which continued throughout his successful career. He founded the 1913 Menushe School of music in Surrey, England, in 1963. Menushe was also known for his extensive publications on music and his numerous benefit concerts promoting world peace.



DIED: **Harry Sawes**, 73, one of Canada's leading composers, of cancer, at his home in Toronto. Sawes began his musical career as a pianist, but is best known for his theatrical compositions. His masterpiece, the opera *Clara*, was premiered by the Canadian Opera Company in 1967. Set to a bilingual text, *Clara* was the first Canadian opera to play at the Kennedy Center in Washington.

DIED: **Freda Goss**, 74, of heart failure, in New York City. Goss won the 1967 Tony Award for her role in *Audrey Mann* on Broadway.

DIED: Former Liberal senator **William Tobin**, 76, in Ottawa. The Newfoundland senator served in the upper house from 1966 until last January.

DIED: **Sidney Gottlieb**, 80, who presided over the Central Intelligence Agency's Cold War experiments with mind-altering drugs, such as LSD, in the 1950s and early 1960s, in Washington, Va. Gottlieb later concluded that the experiments were useless and retired in 1972.

AWARDED: The U.S. National Book Critics Circle prize to **Alice Munro**, 67, for *The Love of a Good Woman* in New York City. Munro is the first Canadian to win the prestigious fiction award.

BORN: It's talk-show host **Larry King**, 64, and his second wife, **Sharon Saydack-King**, 38, Change Amazing, a sitcom, as a couple boy, in Los Angeles. He is the couple's first child, although they both have children from previous marriages.



How it came to be that things were referred to as being the Cadillac of something. It's

tough to say when it happened exactly. Perhaps it wasn't long after the first Cadillac

rolled off the line in 1902. Or maybe it was 1948, the year Cadillac set the automobile

styling world on its ear with its **bold fins**. Some executives drove his new Cadillac home

and turned the heads of an entire street. Like most things back then, it was simple. If you

were successful, worked hard and had the good fortune to be able to buy the finer things in

life, odds were you drove a Cadillac. We think you'll agree that when you have a look at

Cadillac today, you'll find the commitment to creating the finest of luxury automobiles has

endured. From our renowned Northstar® System to recent innovations like Night Vision.

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GLEN CLARK'S HIGH STAKES

BY JENNIFER HUNTER

I was not clear whether Premier Glen Clark was going to keep his job when he walked into a Vancouver hotel ballroom at the start of last week. He was still dealing with the furore involving an RCMP raid on his home, and questions concerning the granting of a charity casino licence to a third. And he faced the prospect that some caucus members would demand his resignation. But it soon became clear that NDP supporters were directed elsewhere. "If Christ came to Vancouver, you guys like media would crucify him," quipped backbencher Jim Doyle. "My partner has 500 per cent of my support," said Finance Minister Jay MacPhail. After a four-hour meeting, caucus presented a solid front in support of Clark, and Clark—who said he had considered resigning—took a new tack. "I have done nothing wrong, there are no allegations," he said. "It seems extremely hard to justify why I would resign."

But in the hazy world of British Columbia politics, nothing is static for long. Two days later, as more information surfaced about Clark's relationship with neighbour Dorothea Platanos, the caucus opinion in question, the premier faced new criticism, and renewed speculation about how long he can keep his job. "The perception is out there that there may be some wrongdoing, and in politics perception is often 100 per cent of the truth, whether it is or not," said Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gordon Wilson, who chaired the floor session the NDP

held in January and is interested in Clark's job. In fact, high party members told MacPhail that another scenario is being constructed—although it is not clear whether it is Clark's approval. The plan, they say, is for Clark to stay on for several more months, take the heat for a series of perceived government antics and shortcomings, and then resign. "It's not a question of if he is leaving—it is a question of when," says one party insider. "I don't think anybody in their right mind thinks we have a chance to win the next election. If Glen leaves, we could hang all the more on him."

Not everyone agrees with that. Finance Minister Doyle told me:

Clark's inner confidence is, says Norman Rath, a political science professor at the University of Victoria. "Nothing is inevitable in B.C. politics. One underestimates Clark at one's peril." After winning decisive wins of support, Clark turned his sights on the Liberal party, which had passed on information about the casino application to the RCMP. There, he told the media that some party members were being investigated for revealing details of the search of his home.

That was not the case. In a statement, provincial assistant deputy attorney general Irmie Quinte said a criminal investigation "will only occur if the police consider it appropriate."

But questions remain about why Clark's friend, Platanos, a 34-year-old contractor, and Platanos's partner received a conditional charity casino licence when they did not meet all the government criteria. Platanos—a neighbour of Clark who has done renovations on his home—has been charged with running an illegal gambling house at the North Burnaby Inn, a place frequented by Hell's Angels motorcycleists who enjoy hanging out at its strip club. (The RCMP does not allege wrongdoing on Clark's part.) It emerged that Clark and Platanos are much better friends than the premier initially indicated. Platanos spent two weeks last summer at Clark's cottage with the Clark family. Clark removed himself from decision-making about Platanos's application, passing the responsibility to Mike Farnworth, the minister of employment and investment. The revelation that Clark's relationship with Platanos was deeper than first assumed seemed to stifle Farnworth. But he tried to end the controversy by pointing out that the application for the casino had been rejected by the time the raid took place. Said Farnworth of the application: "It's dead, it's over."

The opposition Liberals want Clark to step aside, with leader Gordon Campbell declaring: "This whole thing stinks." Within the NDP options are divided over how to get the controversy behind it as quickly as possible. In the short term, NDP insiders say Clark should stay on because there is so much media attention ahead. That includes the precedent-setting Maa'n's Treaty, a controversial, long-negotiated treaty with the aboriginal group, which has been formally passed by the legislature. And the deadline for a 1999 budget is March 31. Last week, the government was forced to ask Lt. Gov. Gordon Sinclair for \$200 million in spending warrants to keep the government operating. And it is not in Clark's nature to walk away from a fight. "To have stepped down would give credence to all our inactionists," says Rath.

But none of that translates into real enthusiasm for Clark to stay on. Clark faces media, mounting questions: "He's getting in with government."



Doubts grow about the future of British Columbia's premier, despite denials of wrongdoing and a caucus show of support

For long. Even before the casino-licence controversy, the NDP was beset by problems and languishing in the polls. Its woes include the controversial, over-budget last session, an upcoming report on whether the government's broke rules about recall legislation, which leaves citizens to petition to assess their local MLA, and controversy over granting expansion throughout B.C. communities. This week, a report will be released examining why Clark's government deliberately misled the public when it promised a balanced budget in 1996.

Those problems lead some party members to observe that the annual NDP meeting scheduled for June might be transformed into a leadership convention. Already, speculation is building about candidates for the leadership of Clark steps down. The early list includes courtier Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh, Justice Minister MacPhail, and the current Wilson. Dosanjh could provide the image of integrity the party desperately needs, as he leads the Liberals in most polls by more than 30 percentage points. Dosanjh has, for the most part, avoided adverse publicity in his position, and is considered a consensus builder. But some pundits say the Punjab-born lawyer lacks the dynamism needed to lead the party into a bruising election campaign—which must be held by 2001.

For her part, MacPhail is expected to be a combative edge and ability to maintain peace under fire. "I'd grow an edge to MacPhail," says Rath. "She has an aggressive attack strategy and a strong base within the labour movement." But some believe that MacPhail no longer wants the job. Her responsibilities as a single mother of a young son also have her torn, like many parents, between office and home. Within cabinet, there is conflict between MacPhail and the gregarious Moe Shaoh, who is the public service minister, and considered a Clark confidant.

Earlier this month, Shaoh announced that he and Judy Tybirk Wilson—Gordon Wilson's wife and a former MLA—would hit the road together to drum up support for the NDP. That made cynics such as Shaoh in playing kingmaker for Wilson, a former leader of both the Liberals and the Progressive Democratic Alliance. Until 1985, Wilson led the Liberals, but was ousted after his relationship with his house leader, Tybirk, became public. (She was married to others at the time.) Wilson then established the PDA, which he led until switching to the NDP. Wilson has the highest approval rating of any politician in British Columbia, standing at 50 per cent in the polls. But some NDP insiders start at the idea of him as their leader. "No way to I get the job," says one. "That's because he is considered an outsider who hasn't yet paid his dues. But he's not gods that others may take a more pragmatic view saying: 'It depends how enthusiastic the party is. If it matters more to win the next election than to pay one's dues, then Wilson could emerge as leader.'"

In the meantime, Clark is adopting a public posture of business as usual. At the end of last week, he announced plans to spend \$74 million on expanding a charged bridge over the Fraser River at Coquitlam. Pressed by reporters about the gambling issue, a smiling Clark said: "I'm getting on with government." But the late of his own predicament, Mike Haccourt, provides a lesson on how hard that task can be in troubled times. Haccourt resigned as premier in 1986, taking responsibility when it was revealed that, without his knowledge, NDP workers were siphoning funds from charity bingo games and shuffling the money in party coffers. Even as Clark continues to prod his own innocence, the example of Haccourt's selfless act may be increasingly hard for him and other party members to ignore. □

A language doctor

Camille Laurin made 'French-first' Quebec law

BY BRENDA BRANSWELL

Camille Laurin once likened Bill 101, Quebec's landmark French language charter that he authored into law, to a French language fluency class. For Laurin, 70, a politician turned politician, the bill of French-first was a bill of French-first. He was the first to teach the language to his children. Adopted by René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government in 1977, the sweeping law, in effect, made French the official language of the province.

His remarks on French-first earned Laurin into a revered figure among anglophones, who dub him "Dr. No." Or, more accurately, Laurin claimed to take the stakes in stride. "I never even held it against them when they called me the Gorbachev," he told a reporter for Montreal's *The Gazette* in 1991, referring to the Asian program that "I was the one who taught the players—they told their nose and closed their eyes so it would go away." But PQ MHA David Payne told *Maclean's* before Laurin that anglophones couldn't understand the reasons for the law. "He understood that he understood it," says Payne, an Anglo-Canadian "that didn't buy him."

An evidence by Premier Lucien Bouchard's decision last week to hold a state funeral for him, Laurin achieved an status among francophones for his linguistic fluency. The law is one of the most significant—and controversial—pieces of legislation in the province's history. It forced immigrants to attend French classes, obliged businesses to operate in French and banned bilingual signs. When it was introduced, Laurin claimed the law "would be the recognition by the French-speaking majority of Quebec." He also insisted to receive him with psychiatric training and agreed with a colleague who said that the language law provided "a cure to autism" for Quebecers, ironically, since analysts argue that the

conference in 1977 gave francophones helped through the process for Laurin's cherished goal of a sovereign Quebec.

A native of a village north of Montreal, Laurin abandoned medicine in the early 1960s. At the time, his friends included Pierre Trudeau and Marc Lévesque. Even after the split over Quebec's future, Laurin and Trudeau retained close affection for each other. After a just Lévesque-Trudeau



Laurin (left) with Lévesque in 1980. But Bill 101 transformed Quebec society

new conference in Quebec City in 1997, Laurin approached Trudeau and tapped him on the shoulder. Trudeau was startled, but listened, and they shared minutes later, Laurin taking a moment to tell Laurin that he was "occupied country," and Trudeau's government to "the emerging force."

Laurin ran for the PQ in its first campaign in 1970 and was one of seven members elected. After the PQ's stunning election victory in 1976, Lévesque appointed Laurin minister for cultural development. Although he never again held such an influential position, Laurin made an indelible mark. For sovereigntists of any generation, Dr. Laurin was a sort of spiritual father, said Lucien

Bouchard, now the PQ minister responsible for the Charter of the French Language. In fact, he quit the PQ in 1986, disappointed by a decision to self-govern sovereignty in the next election, which the Liberals won.

While Laurin's charter found favour among francophones, more than 200,000 anglophones left the province in the decade after its introduction. Critics contend Laurin created an unnecessary friction by being irascible. "I think he went a little far there," he told me," says John Gossard, a long-serving Liberal MHA who retired in November. "He gave the impression that he (Laurin) was to accept the presence of anglophones and the English speaking community." Modified lower Eric Malouf dealt with the issue in his last term. In an English-style cabinet, when it came to co-sponsors on Bill 101, Malouf says, "there was no reasoning, there was no discussion; it was his. His was irascible."

The courts weighed in several times on Bill 101, striking down a number of aspects of the law. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled in 1988 that the French-only law violated freedom of expression. Eventually, the federal government passed Bill 86, which allows for bilingual signs for businesses of French in predominant.

Colleagues described Laurin, a practicing Catholic, as kind. He was close-minded and not at all open to debate about English policy and English people. In 1973, when the PQ was not even one year old, Laurin put his hand on Lévesque's shoulder and said,

"Payne, who shared an office with Laurin, recalls that they first met in 1966 in Italy and it was then he began to debate about English policy and English people. In 1973, when the PQ was not even one year old, Laurin put his hand on Lévesque's shoulder and said,

"Payne, who shared an office with Laurin, recalls that they first met in 1966 in Italy and it was then he began to debate about English policy and English people. In 1973, when the PQ was not even one year old, Laurin put his hand on Lévesque's shoulder and said,

journalist Graham Fraser says in his 1994 book *P.Q.* After Laurin and the Parti Québécois in power that Laurin "could talk about nationalism, Marxism and Wilson with the same spiritless ease as he could discuss Freud, opera, Beethoven or Vatican II."

Laurin returned to politics under his PQ leader Jacques Parizeau in the early 1990s, and asked that anglophones should "keep your children in school." He was a vocal 1994 supporter of the Quebec referendum. But by then, he had fallen ill. Laurin ended the same day's election that marked the end of the language debate. But to his friends, Laurin was a sort of spiritual father, said Lucien

Canada NOTES

NEW YOUTH CRIME LAW

Justice Minister Anne McLellan tabled legislation toughening penalties for high-risk young offenders. Among changes, the age at which youths can receive adult sentences is lowered from 16 to 14, and youths will face up to two years in jail if "willfully neglected" court-ordered conditions when children are released into their custody.

SMALL PARTIES WIN BIG

An Ontario Court judge struck down portions of the federal election law that required political parties to run a minimum of 50 candidates in order to be formally recognized. Justice Anne McIlroy ruled that the election law impeded the freedom of citizens to run for Parliament because listing party identification on a ballot gave candidates an advantage. The law was challenged by the Conservative Party of Canada.

A NIGHT OF DISGRACES

The Canadian Forces charged nine officers of the Sherbrooke Fusiliers with 10 counts of misconduct, and dined two other officers, including former commanding officer Lt. Col. Bernard Pelletier. The moves arose from a lawsuit filed for Pelletier in September 1998. Events included promiscuous affairs, sexual assault on a Canadian flag, a streaker and drunken soldiers gesturing at head table guests, including the chief of police.

A FLAP OVER SNOW GEES

The federal government plans to allow hunters to kill as many as half the wolf-suspected million Canada snow geese. Their numbers are growing at about 50 per cent a year, and biologists say they are destroying their Arctic breeding grounds. Environment Canada wants a spring hunt, in which hunters could broadcast taped goose calls in meadows and wetlands. The United States plans similar measures. Animal-welfare groups on both sides of the border view a bitter fight.

FED-DRUGS RING BROKEN

Sexual immigration officials and Winnipeg police combined to break up what they describe as a major pornography and drug-for-sex operation involving mature girls aged 12 to 16. Fourteen men face 50 charges, including cocaine trafficking, sexual assault and juvenile prostitution.

Different ways to tackle taxes

The contrasting tax systems in Canadian provinces, and the different manner in which they deal with them, was evident in budgets announced by Alberta and Quebec. On the surface, there were similarities: both promised balanced budgets and improved services for their residents—and both started new tax measures. But overall, the two powers seem to have different goals.

Alberta Premier Ralph Klein's government broke with tradition to several times. Treasurer Stockwell Day, who spent of his time skating prior to a symbolic season of new direction, said the province will move to a stable provincial tax rate of 10 per cent for all taxpayers. The move is also a first step towards unhooking the province from the federal tax collection regime. High-income earners will benefit—while increased exemptions for lower-income earners will increase. The tax change will come into effect by 2003. Day also announced the elimination of some other taxes. The combined package will cost the government more than \$200 million in annual revenue.

Even before these moves, Alberta was one of the country's lowest tax rate. The government also plans to increase program spending by 11.5 per cent, or \$1.7 billion, over the next three years. The largest chunk will go to health-care spending. Day expects a fast-growing economy will allow the treasury to offset those changes.

Meanwhile, Finance Minister Bernard

Landry produced Quebec's first balanced budget in 40 years. Landry said the province expects to spend less in two sectors that have had deep cuts: \$8.7 billion for health care, and \$600 million for education.

Unlike Alberta, Quebec, which has the most heavily taxed citizens in Canada, has done little in the short term to benefit taxpayers directly. Some will get a break in July 2000, when the government plans \$400 in tax cuts—but Landry did not say who or how many people will benefit. And Quebec is expected to pull in 1.2 per cent more in personal income tax revenue next year, and another three-percentage-point increase the following year, rising revenues to \$15.7 billion. That means the planned cut represents only 3.9 per cent of the income taxes Landry plans to collect in the 2000-2001 fiscal year.

A significant difference between the two provinces is that even an Alberta move to its single tax rate, Quebec regards its progressive tax rate—meaning that wealthier taxpayers pay a higher percentage—with pride. According to the Canada Tax Foundation, a couple with two children and a \$30,000 combined income would now receive a 20.45 rebate in Quebec—but pay \$907 in Alberta. On the other hand, that same couple would see their tax bill drop by \$1,000 in Quebec. That is because Quebec's revenues this year include \$1.4 billion in equalization payments—and Alberta, along with British Columbia and Ontario, none of three provinces to fund that program.

Klein with Day: a new approach to tax



Snubs and sniping

Tensions flared up in the Ottawa diplomatic tangle involving the federal government, France and Quebec in Ottawa, pulled out of an international meeting of culture ministers in Paris at the last minute. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who personally declined the move, said that France treated Quebec like a sovereign state by issuing it an invitation without a conference line. The federal government, however, was not invited to the meeting. The French government, however, was not invited to the meeting.

The sniping came on the eve of a visit to Europe by Premier Lucien Bouchard, who will visit Paris and then spend part of his week in Spain, opening a major cultural event in which the French have won a world-class reputation. In the past, the French have extended similar attention only to the cultures of sovereign countries.



THE DIAMOND WAR

Canada tries to halt the illegal sales fuelling a brutal conflict

On a dirt road winding its way through the burning Tereba district on the outskirts of the Angolan capital of Luanda, 18-year-old Paulo Cortes and his four friends have stopped playing basketball to escape the scorching midday sun. Cortes just finished high school with honors, and he wants a scholarship abroad to study engineering. For now, however, his main goal is simple: stay out of the civil war raging in his country. Reports of military police swooping down on nearby shantytowns in search of recruits have created widespread panic. Like every 30- to 35-year-old male, Cortes was forced to sign up for Angola's draft. Now, he fears the police are coming for him. "They will beat me, and do everything to put me in a truck and send me to the front line," he says. "But I won't go."

Angola was once a Cold War battlefield, pitting the United States, against erstwhile South Africa and guerrillas loyal to UNITA—the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola—against a then-Marxist government backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union. The ideological struggle is long dead, but the war rages on. The

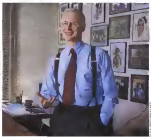
fighting now, according to Robert Fowler, Canada's ambassador to the United Nations, is about greed, power and control of a treasure trove of diamonds worth billions of dollars. UNITA rebels have overrun several diamond mines, including one owned by Canadian—slaughtering employees and selling the gems on the black market. It has been a lucrative trade. Since 1992, UNITA guerrillas have sold an estimated \$5 billion worth of illegal diamonds, and much of the money has been spent on weapons.

Fowler is involved because, thanks to Canada's current two-year membership on the Security Council, he has become head of the United Nations Angolan Sanctions Committee. In 1997, in an effort to undercut UNITA, the United Nations banned the sale of Angolan diamonds not carrying the official stamp of the government—but the effort has been largely futile. Now, with the diamond-fueled civil war threatening to spill over into neighboring countries, Fowler is about to depart on a fact-finding mission to determine what can be done to choke off the supply of black-market stones. Later this spring, he will meet in Ottawa with executives of Canadian mining firms with

operations in the African country. There, he will fly to Angola, South Africa and Luanda to talk with leading officials in the genocide. "Diamonds are the grease in this whole dilemma," Fowler told *Newsweek*. "They have allowed the rebels to equip their forces and they are now one of the best armies in Africa."

Fowler has no easy task. Led by mercenary chief Jonas Savimbi, UNITA has been battling Angola's ruling National Movement for the Liberation of Angola since 1975, when the country gained independence from Portugal. Nearly 800,000 people have been killed, and peace initiatives have been impossible to enforce. On Feb. 28, the anniversary of the United Nations' 50th birthday, a massive invasion in Angola expired in utter failure. The 1,000 peacekeepers still in the country are slated to leave by the end of March and the fighting is expected to turn vicious. "We must destroy, once and for all, the war machine of Jonas Savimbi," declares Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Dos Santos, who no longer occupies Marimba, did much a tentative peace deal with Savimbi in 1995 and held elections the following year. But UNITA said it would consider the vote free and fair only if it won. It did not. Today, near Luanda's seaward waterfront



Looking for diamonds in an area UNITA recently overran, Fowler, in the UN office, hopes to "discourage, embarrass and shame"

stands the bullet-riddled Hotel Turismo, where UNITA leaders shot their way out after their election loss—a poignant monument to the country's deteriorating future.

A UN-backed peace deal in 1994, known as the Lusaka Protocol, also attempted to end the fighting. The UNTRUST rebels simply viewed the truce as breathing space to rearm. The rebels even purchased 60 tanks from Ukraine and sent soldiers to Morocco for training. "UNITA transformed itself from a guerrilla army into a conventional fighting force," says Michael Cornwall of South Africa's Institute for Security Studies. The government, incensed by UNITA's failure to hand over disputed territory as outlined in the protocol, last December attacked rebel strongholds in the central highlands. At that point, says Africa-Canada, Canada's honorary consul in Angola, "war became inevitable."

Years of fighting have shattered the country. Some 30,000 people were killed in the central town of Kuito alone in 1993. Now, Kuito is under siege again. Along the coast road, an apartment complex stands like a smoldering doornail, its front wall blown off. Families huddle around campfires inside. The only thing elected in the war's terrible landscape are land mines, and displaced farmers are fleeing into the guerrilla zone. At the main hospital, the 800-bed beds are all occupied, mostly by land-mine victims. "We were going to buy

weapons," said Manuel Jose Almeida, 38. "Then a land mine hit our truck and killed our sergeant."

At the moment, the government holds Luanda, the coast and guerrilla towns in the interior, while UNITA controls much of the west. Savimbi is described as a "psychopathic megalomaniac" by one diplomat. But he retains quiet support among many Angolans, even in some quarters of Luanda. "Yes, Savimbi may be a killer," says one taxi driver in the capital. "But he is fighting for our national identity."

President dos Santos is widely viewed as a formerer whose grand parents in earlier years owned several islands off São Tomé and Príncipe. In seven years, the president has left Luanda for the interior of Angola only once, on a one-day campaign trip. He recently consolidated his military power and appointed a hardliner, Raulo Pimenta, as defense minister, a move seen as a rejection of any negotiations with UNITA. Most observers agree that Savimbi cannot conquer Luanda, while the government is incapable of crushing UNITA in the interior.

Westerners, however, have strong economic incentives to push for peace. Angola has vast oil reserves to go along with its multibillion-dollar diamond deposits—potentially making the country the richest in Africa. Canadian firms are among the few foreign mining companies to brave the violence. On Nov. 9, UNITA forces overran a mine in the north owned by Vancouver-based, British-managed DiamondWorks Resources Ltd., killing eight workers and capturing 15. Four foreign resources were kidnapped and the company is now trying to negotiate their release, which it expects to cost \$25 million to ransom the mine. "UNITA's strategy is to force evacuations out of Angola," says Johan Ståhlberg, the director of DiamondWorks in Luanda. "They have done this successfully."

Security now accounts for 20 per cent of the company's operating costs. At its metropolitan offices near Luanda's airport, army brigades routinely come to strike new security deals. Some mines are now completely surrounded by government contingents. As part of his fact-finding mission, Fowler will also travel to Kimberley, South Africa, where he will visit the headquarters of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., which controls more than 50 per cent of the world's diamond trade. While there, he hopes to learn more about how UNITA's diamonds enter the open market. Fowler will then fly on to London to discuss with executives at major gem-trading houses how to stop the illegal trade.

De Beers officials have denied speculation by some analysts that the company has been buying the Angola diamonds at depressed prices from the guerrillas. Other experts suggest that Russian diamond traders are behind the smuggling. Christopher Jonsson, chairman of Toronto-based Southernfield Resources Ltd., which is exploring for diamonds in northern Angola, says the gems can easily be smuggled to Moscow aboard cargo planes, then raised with thousands of stones and laundered through exchanges in Africa. Fowler is under no illusion that the United Nations will be able to completely choke off the flow of illegal diamonds. But once armed with information on the trade, he says he hopes to "discourage, embarrass and shame" countries into adhering to UN sanctions.

If the effort succeeds in not continuing, Fowler believes the civil war in Angola will be exported into nearby countries. Zambia has declared its support for the Angolan government, but fighting could still break out between the two great neighbors over Zambia's refusal to allow Angolan forces to track UNITA. Even inside its borders, UNITA rebels are also emboldened in Congo, where they have struck alliances with rebel forces, backed by Uganda and Rwanda, fighting the administration of President Laurent Kabila, who is supported by Angolan troops. "UNITA is a well-armed gang of fighters who have ranged widely through central Africa," says Fowler. "They are players in the turmoil in Congo." And as long as UNITA has the diamonds to finance its struggle, Angolan civil war will continue to erupt. Savimbi or his heir, the palace will undoubtedly arrive at the back-benches once in Lourenço Marques and his friends in the front lines. Cortes says sadly: "I have no future."

TOM PENNELL and STEVEN LOWMYER in Luanda





ANDREW PHILLIPS

Washington

Star Wars: it's back

Technological debates are always the most intense, especially those that have nothing to do with religion. In Washington, it's often to whisper "Star Wars" or "missile defence" to set off a high decibel screaming match between competing bands of analysts. The idea that the United States should figure out a way to shield itself against a nuclear or chemical-tipped missile is both as simple as either (a) a matter of essential patriotic duty or (b) a wacky, dangerous notion—and a immensely expensive one to boot. There's hardly any middle ground.

During the 1980s and for most of the '90s, Bill Clinton selected option (b). The warren along with his fellow Democrats in denouncing Ronald Reagan's so-called Star Wars project—the infamous plan to put tiny lasers and key interceptors called "killian pebbles" in space to destroy incoming Soviet missiles. The idea was to make nuclear war impossible, but critics charged that it did just the opposite by destabilizing the balance of forces reached during the Cold War. "Star Wars" burned up some \$40 billion (U.S.) before Clinton arrived in the White House in 1993 and promptly killed it. Canada, ever since, has been the hushed, it too "Star Wars" because the symbol of Reaganism to attack.

Now it's back—sort of. Clinton, ever one to shy from a policy turn around, proposes spending \$19 billion to develop a more modest "national missile defence" by 2005 (just don't call it "Star Wars" if it's decidedly less, where you do that). Clinton's plan really sticks as a case from hawks who had charged his administration with leaving the United States vulnerable to attack from so-called super states like North Korea, Iran and Iraq. And it raises a host of questions for Canada, which happens to share a continental wall of airspace with the United States, as well as the 41-year-old NORAD agreement to jointly defend against attack from the air.

No surprise, then, that Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy made his first-ever pilgrimage last week to NORAD headquarters in Colorado, there to view the nerve centre of continental air defence deep inside Cheyenne Mountain. Ottawa and Washington are starting to renegotiate the NORAD agreement, and Canada wants to know whether the United States intends to use it as a command centre for missile defence. At the same time, Foreign Affairs worries that such plans can't include key arms-control agreements, notably the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (but Washington signed with Moscow in 1972. The Russians are already furious that Clinton is going ahead with missile defence. In fact, it may end up being that Moscow will ratify a 1980 agreement under which the United States and Russia promised to cut back sharply on their nuclear armaments. The result, say critics, is that North America will be less safe than Clinton intends to make it any as a Pentagon docu-

Canada's military, though, has been doing its own research on space surveillance—work that could be relevant to missile defence. Defence department officials head over backwards to stress they are not aiming for a piece of the action. But the fact is that old-fashioned ground-based radar systems are increasingly passe. Even more basic, the Canadian military has been partnered with the Americans in NORAD for four decades and doesn't want to be left on the sidelines.

Right now, however, there's not a lot for Canada to decide. The Americans haven't figured out exactly what kind of a system they want, how it will work, or whether they want anyone else (such as Canada) to take part. It's likely to include sensors parked in space to detect an enemy missile launch, low-orbit satellites and ground-based radar to track an incoming threat, and missiles capable of intercepting it. "Putting a bullet with a bullet," in current jargon. And the Americans won't pressing Ottawa for a commitment—in fact, they'd push to soon get it alone, especially if Canada is ready to get all exactly about arms control. Frank Gaffney, a former top Pentagon official under Reagan and one of a group of defence experts who published a new study last week favouring missile defence, puts it this way: "If the Canadians can help, let 'em. If they're going to be a pain in the butt, leave 'em out."

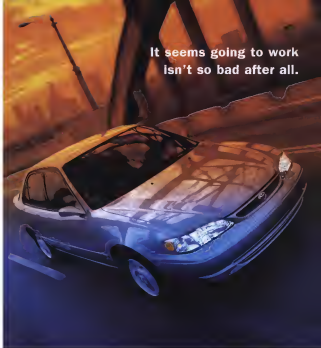
Some Canadians, led by "peace" advocates like Project Ploughshares and the editorial page of *The Toronto Star*, are already being pained in the butt—at least from the U.S. perspective. Clinton's plan, they argue, is just a rebranded version of Star Wars that won't do anything but burn up yet more billions of taxpayers' dollars. That they, and Axworthy, should take a new look.

For one thing, the landscape has changed dramatically. Star Wars was designed by the Pentagon as a way to intercept a handful of missiles launched by the likes of North Korea or Iran. An independent commission headed by a former U.S. defence secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, concluded last July that several unfriendly countries will have that capability within five years. A month later, North Korea helpfully confirmed the Americans' fears by firing a missile called Taepo Dong 2 over Japan into the Pacific. An upgraded version, the Taepo Dong 2, could have a range of 13,000 km—enough to hit the continental United States. Unlikely? Of course. Impossible? Hardly.

The biggest danger, of course, doesn't come from there. A terrorist outfit is more likely to attack a city with a bomb built on the back of a van or a viral anthrax in the water supply than it is to launch a missile. But with Clinton now a convert, Washington is clearly committed to some kind of missile shield. Canada can stand aside, or at least hope for a hot part in Star Wars—the Soviet



Artist's view of the Reagan version: questions for Canada



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World NOTES

TAINTED-BLOOD ACQUITTAL

Former French prime minister Laurent Fabius and ex-vice-minister Georges Delafix were acquitted of manslaughter and criminal negligence in the deaths of hundreds of French people who contracted AIDS five years before blood transfusions. A special tribunal convicted former health minister Edmond Hervé, who worked under Delafix, but gave him no penalty. The ministers denied claims that they deliberately avoided use of a U.S. test for the AIDS virus in 1985 while a French test was being developed.

SCHROEDER'S TRIUMPH

German finance minister Oskar Lafontaine resigned after a bitter cabinet showdown with Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who said the minister's left policies had alienated German business. Lafontaine also quit as head of the Social Democratic party, allowing Schröder to consolidate power by being over the party. He appointed moderate Hans Eichel as the finance job.

IOC PURGE CONTINUES

A seventh person has been recommended for expulsion from the International Olympic Committee in an ongoing bribery investigation headed by Montreal lawyer and IOC vice-president Richard Pound. Pound's report last week found that Paul Waberski of Western Samoa had accepted a \$30,000 personal loan from a senior official of Salt Lake City's 2002 Winter Olympics bid. The Pound commission also censured two IOC members and asked warnings to seven more. Three others have resigned.

KHMER ROUGE TRIAL

Newly arrested guerrilla chief Ta Mok, 72, known as "The Butcher," will become the first Khmer Rouge leader to face genocide charges over the Pol Pot regime's bloody reign in the 1970s, when 1.7 million Cambodians died. Premier Hun Sen wanted calls to refer the charges to an international tribunal.

MAERSK DUBAI CHARGE

Towers charged the captain of the Maersk Dubai with negligence in the deaths of two Romanian stowaways who were forced to leave the container ship as it was docked off en route to Canada. Charges against the father of the stowaways were dropped. The stowaways were arrested in Halifax in 1996 on the basis of accounts from four Filipino crewmen.



FALKLANDS TANGO:

Professional dancer Adriana Yacik leads her leg around Prince Charles just as they finish dancing the tango at a state function in Buenos Aires. While his hosts applauded his adroitness on the dance floor, the prince reopened old wounds when he addressed the future of the Falkland Islands. On the first British official visit to Argentina since the two nations went to war over the islands in 1982, Charles outraged his hosts by suggesting that they should learn to "live amicably" alongside the people of the Falklands. Despite having lost the war, Argentina still maintains its 144-year-old sovereignty claim to the remote archipelago off its Atlantic coast. Charles's remarks were quickly rejected by Vice-President Carlos Ruckauf, while protesters outside his hotel fought police, chanting "Fierce prince out."

Iran's president steps out

In a dramatic bid to end his country's isolation, Iranian President Mohammad Khatami journeyed to Italy and met Pope John Paul II in Rome. Khatami, a Muslim cleric, was the first Iranian president to visit a Western nation since the 1979 revolution that brought down the shah and established Iran as an Islamic republic. Khatami is a moderate who managed in a bitter power struggle with the country's fundamentalist religious leadership. During his discussions with the Pope, he promised to promote democracy, fight terrorism and combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction. It was a dramatic shift from the anti-Western rhetoric of revolutionary leader Ayatollah

Ruhollah Khomeini, who died in 1989, and his successors in the clerical power structure that still holds ultimate sway in Iran.

Khatami drew his power from his 1997 election victory, when he rode a wave of support from Iranians tired of the repression they endured, as well as the hardships they face as a result of U.S. economic sanctions. His visit to Italy, which drew wide praise from European leaders, may encourage more European investment in the country's lagging economy. Washington still maintains that Iran is an outlaw state that exports terrorism around the world, but Khatami's trip could help change that perception as well.

A U.S.-China nuclear espionage scandal

A scientist suspected of stealing U.S. nuclear weapons secrets in the late 1980s was fired from the Los Alamos, N.M., weapons laboratory as President Bill Clinton's administration came under fire over a widening Chinese spy scandal. Taiwan-born Wen Ho Lee, who had worked at the laboratory for more than a decade, leaked two polygraph tests linking him to Chinese agents. The state's information department also advised the Chinese weapons program by allowing Beijing to manufacture its nuclear warheads. Clinton said security has since been tightened at Los Alamos, but the Senate still plans to hold hearings on China's role in the incident.



Business

SPECIAL REPORT

THE POLITICS OF TRADE

BY JOHN GEDDES

Liberal MP Stan Kavanagh can't claim to be a big player in Canadian trade policy. But to his dismay, trade policy plays big these days in his Hamilton West riding. In Ottawa's steel city, anxiety is mounting over the prospect of a trade war with the United States. Kavanagh fears about the line almost daily from sweater workers and steel company executives. The source of their nerves, Washington's latest that import of Canadian steel might be one target of retaliation if Ottawa refuses to back down from its proposed law to protect Canadian industries from U.S. splintered periodicals. That law is championed by Heritage Minister Sheila Copps, who also happens to be MP for the next-door Hamilton East riding. So Kavanagh finds himself squaring off against his main opponent in the night, not in a heated breaking ranks with his own party—but by denigrating his home town's interests. "There must be a way to protect culture without raising the ire of the Americans," he argues. "The more important issue here is protecting jobs."

When talk about trade splits apart from from the negotiating tables of Geneva and Washington to the kitchen tables of Hamilton, something has gone wrong. A series of particularly narrow disputes has raised troubling questions about the capacity of the World Trade Organization, and perhaps the North American Free Trade Agreement, to keep noisy squabblers from escalating into destructive trade wars. It is all happening in a sizzling U.S. trade deficit, and a fragile global economy, have major trading nations on edge. The quarrel over magazines, which roused fears of heavy U.S. duties on Canadian steel—or lumber, or plastics, or wool suits—seems significantly less hot, but it is not an isolated case. An even bigger battle over, of all things, bananas, has poisoned trade relations between the Americas and Europe (page 38). The worst outcome, according to when an Ottawa-based trade consultant Peter Clark, would be a weakening of the WTO and NAFTA, requires that Canada continue to level the playing field with demands larger trading partners. "We need rules to make

sure that in a game of right and wrong, not of big and little," Clark says. In both the banana and the magazine clashes, the United States is under fire for acting more on being big than being right. But the accusations of bullying are hardly clear-cut. In the banana case, the United States was at the WTO, far and square. The European Union was ordered to stop lowering barriers imported from former colonies over cuts from U.S. companies operating in Latin America. It was European defiance about how to compete that exhausted Washington's patience. On March 8, the United States imposed heavy duties on a wide range of European imports, from British ovens to Indian cheese—a response many observers have criticized as too severe.

In the magazine conflict with Canada, the United States also initially won its case at the dispute-settlement table. In 1997, a WTO panel struck down Ottawa's policies banning so-called splintered editions of U.S. magazines that generally contain little or no Canadian editorial content, but from which the U.S. advertisements have been stripped and replaced by Canadian ads. Ottawa complied with the WTO by scrapping the offending policies. But Copps denounced new legislation, Bill C-55, last fall to overrule the same panel. This time, instead of arguing the splintered magazines directly, her proposed law would make it illegal to sell advertising space and other services in such publications. That twist is crucial, while Canada is obliged by trade treaties to have an open market for imported magazines in general, no international pact compels Ottawa to let foreigners compete freely in selling advertising services.

U.S. trade negotiators scoff at that distinction as a dodge to avoid honoring the WTO ruling. They see little difference between Canada's actions and the EU's reluctance to comply in bananas. Defenders of the Canadian position, though, say the two cases are only superficially similar. Gordon Ritchie, a former senior Canadian trade negotiator and now a trade consultant, says Canada opposed the offending measures and introduced an entirely new law. It can up to the

United States to seek another panel decision before retaliating, he says. Instead, Washington threatened to publish a list of Canadian imports that might have duties slapped on them after a 30-day consultation period. "This is unilateral aggression, unless and until it is sanctioned by the WTO or NAFTA," Ritchie fumes. "They are getting very, very angry indeed."

Canada's hopes for avoiding any more nastiness got a boost at a key meeting on the magazine issue in Washington last Friday. The session, involving the second-highest-ranking U.S. trade negotiator and the top bureaucrats from Canada's Trade and Heritage departments, ended with both sides suggesting a deal was within reach. "If we continue on the path we are on today, this law as presently conceived will not become the law of the land," said Richard Fisher, the deputy U.S. trade representative. It is clear some aspects of C-55 will be altered, but neither side was disclosing any precise changes to the bill that might satisfy Washington, yet leave Canadian cultural policy intact. Still, enough common ground was apparently found for the American side to withdraw the trade date threat of publishing a retaliation list. Canadian negotiators have agreed to the Americans that the legislation is not being rushed into law. It could be delayed and amended when it goes before the Senate. And the law will not come into force until a special decision is made by the cabinet.

In fact, the tension over magazines has not seemed to put much strain on the wider Canada-U.S. trade relationship. International Trade Minister Sergio Marchesi claims that "the hand the Canadians, the American-Canadian relationship has never been in good." And senior federal trade officials paid to minimize trade frictions on which Ottawa and Washington are, in fact, seeing as close allies. It is what is shaping up as a major battle over Europe's restrictions on imports of North

American beef from cattle raised on certain hormones, the United States and Canada are fighting on the same side. And as the U.S. government grapples with domestic demands to limit nursing steel imports, Canada's steel industry is happy that it is not being lumped in with offshore producers who may face new restrictions.

Canadian trade ministers generally give the U.S. government credit for leading all growing demands that it limit imports—especially after its trade deficit ballooned to a record \$248 billion (U.S.) last year from \$198 billion in 1997. "If you look at some of the extreme protection pressures the Administration face, the administration has been acting responsibly," and one admitting senior Canadian trade bureaucrats.

Canada's success rate at the Geneva-based WTO may also be better than it has lately appeared. Latest reports of a WTO panel's interim ruling on federal support for aerospace industries had prompted economic nationalists to claim that Canada's entire industrial policy was being put at risk. But with the release of the first WTO ruling in the case last Friday, Ottawa was claiming that those earlier, dire interpretations of the panel's findings had distorted what was really a Canadian victory. In the dispute, Canada attacked Brazilian export subsidies for Embraer, Brazil's manufacturer of regional passenger jets. Brazil, in turn, challenged Canada's support for Montreal-based regional aircraft maker Bombardier Inc. In the end, Brazil's major subsidy scheme was found in violation of WTO rules, while the Canadian government's regional rules, while parts of Canada's aerospace and export supports would have to be revised to comply in short, Brazil, was "knocked out" while Canada "got noticed," Marchesi boasted to *Airline*.

Canada will be busy trading punches with the WTO dispute-settlement panel many times in the coming years. GM24 dispute panels listed as active by the WTO last week, Canada was involved in eight—a remarkably high proportion, given that 134 countries belong to the WTO. Among the big disputes the United States and New Zealand allege that Canada unfairly subsidizes dairy exports, while Japan claims that Canada's support duties on Japanese cars violate WTO rules.

And still not quiet in the NAFTA arena. Among other numbers, Ottawa is bracing for its next battle with Washington on softwood lumber to resume. The controversial 1996 agreement that limited Canadian lumber exports to the United States runs out in 2001. Marchesi is already discussing strategy with the provinces and forestry companies abroad. Canada will be for a new quota deal, or fight for the wide-open across NAFTA is theoretically guaranteed? Trade pacts, it seems, can only be counted on up to a point—getting the best deal in global commerce still requires shrewd strategy and hardball bargaining. □



GETTING 'KNOCKED': Marchesi says Canada won the Bombardier battle



GOING BANANAS: Exports from Colombia are among those caught up in the trade clash between the United States and Europe

HOW THE WTO WORKS

They are the keepers of the modern free-trade mantra: the sacred rules and rituals of global commerce. There are not many, so more than a few hundred diplomats in all, each accredited to the World Trade Organization by one of its 134 member nations. Granted their base, in a handsome building off Geneva's shores of the city's great lake. On this frosty Swiss morning, however, they are as unhappy as if they gathered for a conference inside the building's great hall. Business are the cause of their distress, the unspoken issue at the heart of a looming trade war between the WTO's two behemoths, the United States and the 15-country European Union. It does not take long for the general discontent to surface. And it is Canada's delegate—Ambassador John Lockhart—who gives voice to it. "I'm afraid," he later confesses with a sheepish chuckle, "that I've heard their voices a little bit."

Much to the delight of the assembled diplomats, the Canadian ambassador pointedly reminded the representatives from the United States and the EU that, while their bilateral relationship was vital to the fledgling WTO, the organization did not belong only to the world's two major trading outlets. "I told them," Winkler recalls, "that it was perhaps useful to reflect on the fact that, since direct U.S.-EU trade only amounted to 5.5 per cent of world trade, maybe it was time for us to look after the other 95 per cent of our business." His remarks struck a chord among many of the other envoys present, most

SPECIAL REPORT



BARRY CHAME
IN GENEVA

of whom have switched in mounting dismay the steady escalation of the conflict between America and Europe over trade in a product neither side actually grows, where no domestic jobs are directly affected and which amounts to substantially less than one per cent of their \$800 billion in annual bilateral commerce. "It's all rather absurd," complains Winkler. "We have a billion lost jobs of business to deal with and, quite frankly, this banana dispute has been sapping all of our energies for far too long."

Trivial as it might seem, however, the unfolding trans-Atlantic banana war is both a warning of a critical fault in the world's multilateral trading system and a harbinger of even more intractable problems to come. Canada has an immense stake as how the crisis plays out, because 40 per cent of its economy now depends on trade. Just about any Canadian exporter could one day find his or her product caught up in a dispute over the rules of the game—upgrading the nature of the reform crucial. To many diplomats in Geneva, the very fact that the United States is now poised to impose sanctions on \$180 million worth of critically chosen European imports—everything from Scottish seafood to Italian pecorino cheese—is a sign of a breakdown of one of the WTO's central pillars, its elaborate dispute settlement procedures. Even more ominous, the critics say, is the disturbing trendline: more obvious U.S. trade policy—Washington's willingness to throw its weight around in pursuit of goals that have more to do with domestic political pressure than foreign com-

mercial objectives. Europeans, especially, are quick to point out lessons for Canada. "Today, if a Canadian banana, tomorrow it may be Canadian members," warns Richard Mahood, the EU's ambassador to the WTO. "The two disputes are quite different in most ways, but they do share this in common: if you don't do what the Americans want you to do, they threaten you with all kinds of dire consequences."

Not surprisingly, the American delegation in Geneva does not share that view. While U.S. Ambassador Rita Hayes declares its chosen course the negotiating policy, on the grounds that it is currently the subject of negotiations between Washington and Ottawa, she is more than willing to defend U.S. trade positions, in particular those relating to the dispute over bananas. "It's not really about bananas, it's about rules," insists Hayes. "And the optics are worrisome if everybody plays by the same rules." The EU, she argues, has been broken—over at least, behind—the rules for years to support small-scale banana growers in former European colonies in the Caribbean, Africa and the Pacific who are unable to compete against mass-produced Latin American bananas, grown and distributed in large part by U.S. multinationals. On these occasions the EU has strangled on the long side of international rulings on the legitimacy of its complex banana regime, which sets quotas for various export countries—none in particular established under the General Agreement on Trade and Trade and since at the WTO, GATT's successor. In the end of the most recent WTO ruling, the EU modified its banana regime. But Washington, which values the American loss of \$180 million, dismisses the changes as "cosmetic" and is again mounting a challenge. A WTO investigating panel is set to deliver its ruling on the EU's policy later this month. In the meantime, the Americans, weary of what Hayes describes as an "endless loop of litigation," are prepared to split 100 per cent tariffs on a range of European imports if the WTO is to acquiesce to the EU. "We've lost jobs and money," says Hayes. "And our Congress is very unhappy. We wouldn't be here if the EU had chosen some respect for the rules."

Those rules are the essence of the World Trade Organization, the official, built upon the foundations of GATT that sprung to life on Jan. 1, 1995. It grew out of a growing set of negotiations known as the Uruguay Round. 70 years of negotiating beginning between the world's leading nations that lasted from 1986 and 1994. Under GATT, which dealt mainly with trade in goods, the WTO's agreements also cover trade in services as well as intellectual property—patents, copyrights and designs. The WTO's regulations are essentially binding contracts between governments, its credible, lengthy and complex legal train covering a wide range of trading activities in agriculture, banking, telecommunications, intellectual industrial standards, food inspection regulations and the like. "The WTO is a strong beast, a rules-based organization designed for the express purpose of helping world trade flow as freely as possible," says Ilo MacLaren, the former Canadian trade minister

as now Canadian high commissioner in Britain and one of four candidates at the current race to succeed Italian Renato Ruggiero as director general of the WTO.

MacLaren blurts out what he has described as the past an "informal pattern for the WTO" as that, in crude manner, he led the Canadian delegation during the crucial final phase of the Uruguay Round and later guided Canada's implementing legislation through Parliament. It was MacLaren who signed Canada's undertaking to join the WTO at a meeting in Marrakech, Morocco, in 1994. "We were covering all uncharted waters at the time," he now recalls. "But it was pretty clear to most of us back then that one of the most telling consequences was likely to be the WTO's dispute settlement system."

Unlike the GATT, the WTO was equipped with a mechanism to settle differences between trading nations. While the GATT had the power to subpoena disputes, there was no means to enforce arbitrary rulings were delivered. "Member states were under no obligation to abide by any of the GATT's decisions," notes Winkler, who served in Canada's ambassador to GATT during four years of the Uruguay Round negotiations. "These were no formal treaties, rulings were simply decided, sometimes just ignored. Cases could often drag on forever with no conclusive result."

That is no longer possible, or at least, is much more difficult. The WTO agreement that all member states now lays out in considerable detail a dispute settlement process and timetable that, under normal circumstances, requires about a year to reach a resolution. 15 months if the case is appealed. It begins with consultations and ends with WTO authorization to proceed with retaliation if the rest of the United States is now contemplating the banana conflict with Europe and threatened to the unimpaired dispute with Canada. In between, the process is carefully staged, involving the appointment of three-to-five-member panels of outside experts to consider the evidence and make recommendations and calculating a climate of course to what is known as the appellate body, seven members (three of designated authorities on international trade who serve four-year terms). The WTO's current appellate body is composed of an American attorney and former congressman, a judge from the Philippines, a trade diplomat from New Zealand and another from Uruguay and three professors of international law from Germany, Egypt and Japan.

Until the outbreak of America's banana war with Europe, the system worked remarkably well. During the entire history of the GATT's existence, 200 disputes were lodged with the organization. In the four years since the WTO's inception, it has already handled 168 cases. The WTO's top management have made good use of the mechanism. The United States has been involved in 78 cases, the EU in 68. The number of which overall, each has lodged roughly twice as many complaints about others as others have about them. Canada has been the complainant in 15 cases, respondent in another seven. "We've managed to chalk up a few victories," says Winkler, "even if it is only the delicate line



'WE'VE LOST JOBS: Hayes rejects criticism of U.S. leaders

A DARKENING U.S. MOOD

the magazine issue that seems to get noticed back home."

Canada was a notable tussle with the EU, for example, over scallops in 1996. Warring in conjunction with Chile and Peru, the Canadians managed to overturn a French attempt to prevent exporting but European scallops have carried a couple. Since Jacques Label's move that would have sent the lowest quality Canadian and South American products out the European market, And Canada's not alone in coming out first in disputes with the trading superpowers. Costa Rica went all the way to the appellate body to force Washington to lift restrictions on the sale of Costa Rican andrew in the United States. In similar fashions, Venezuela and Brazil used the WTO procedures to pressure the United States into revisiting environmental regulations that required imported gasoline to meet stricter emissions standards than domestically refined American products.

What the WTO system has been unable to avoid, however, is the potent combination of slowing growth in global trade and rising political pressures

within major trading nations. Business are a state in point in both instances, as is, to a lesser extent, Canadian legislation on foreign investments. "Many of these current problems have arisen," notes MacLaren, "where WTO regulations have the effect of reaching into the internal concerns of some of the major trading nations."

In the European view, the U.S. determination to push the issue on business is fuelled in large part by the powerful political influence in Washington of Carl Linder, chairman of Chiquita Brands International, Inc., the world's leading distributor of bananas. Linder is widely known at home and abroad as a large contributor to both the Republican and Democratic political parties. His company has also been the major user under the EU's banana regime. "The banana trade," maintains EU ambassador Abbott, "is really an incoherent business, controlled by four major multinationals, three of them American. The issue here is, given, and exacerbated by a weak administration in Washington with no real trade policy. It is no accident that the United States is currently involved in trade disputes with its three major trading partners, with its over bananas, with Canada over cigarettes and with Japan over steel."

Whatever the validity of that judgment, U.S. policymakers do face rising protectionist sentiment at home prompted by a burgeoning American trade deficit. "The world trade picture is very sombre at the moment," notes a worried Rubens Albuquerque, the Brazilian secretary general of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, whose offices in Geneva look down upon the WTO's island headquarters. "The U.S. economy is the only economy in the world right now that, like some great black hole, is sucking up all the planet's available exports. What's more, there is no relief in sight. Growth in Europe is slowing, Japan is stagnant. The developing world is prostrate. It is a situation where the kind of mutual recommitment we are now seeing are only likely to get worse unless better" — in other words, the custodians of global commerce at the World Trade Organization had better buckle down. They may soon have more to worry about than business. □

There aren't many places in Washington with a better view of Capitol Hill than the embassy of Canada. From the perch above Pennsylvania Avenue, Canada's American residents could keep an eye on the tribulations of demonstrating steelworkers who marched up and down the boulevard in recent weeks, protesting imports of cheap foreign steel that are costing them their jobs. Some 10,000 U.S. steelworkers have been laid off in the past year, and they haven't been shy about taking their case for special protection to the seat of power. On Capitol Hill, the politicians are listening—and

aren't going to take it any more. "Our trading partners," Senate majority leader Trent Lott complained last week, "are breaking us like eggs."

Canadian officials back the demonstrating U.S. mood with evidence—pointing to recent Senate hearings at which even noted free-traders like Republican William Roth and Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan accused Canada and the EU of failing to live up to their commitments on trade in change that both deny. The strong protectionist sentiment puts pressure on the Clinton administration to take a hard line on trade issues—notably through tough-talking U.S. Trade Representative Christine Bushby—at a time when it has its own ambitious plans for international commerce. It wants to use a meeting of WTO ministers this fall in Seattle to launch a new round of global trade talks, and it is committed to negotiating the so-called Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005.

But it can do little without support on Capitol Hill. "Trade is an area where the White House needs active co-operation with Congress," notes Greg Vindler, a vice-president of the Economic Strategy Institute, a Washington think tank. "And Congress is very skeptical of the Clinton administration on trade. So that forces them to be aggressive in protecting U.S. interests. If they don't do it, they have no chance of getting Congress to go along with them."

And, say analysts, the sour mood on trade has taken form in Washington—despite the booming U.S. economy that softens the blow for many American workers who find their jobs threatened by cheap imports. "This is not a blip," says Mastel. "This is a trend that was established right after the NAFTA debate" in 1993-1994. In this charged atmosphere, seemingly trivial issues like Washington's squabble with Brussels over banana imports take on symbolic significance. "It's a litmus test," he adds. "A test of the administration's credibility." Unhappy for Canada, its magazine policy has become a similar flash point in Washington—hostage to the delicate dance between the White House and Capitol Hill, and thus a fight that the Clinton administration wants to be seen to win.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Washington



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PACKING A PUNCH

BY BRUCE WALLACE

Those who have done business or politics with Gordon Giffin over the years use roughly the same set of adjectives to describe the 46-year-old Atlanta lawyer who is now the United States' ambassador to Canada. Serious. Analytical. Discreet. Extremely hardworking. This is a man who, after all, when preparing for the coming renegotiation of the NORAD agreement between Canada and the United States, made a point of reading the entire original treaty. So it is more than mildly surprising when, with a fluffy smile and no hesitation, the earnest ambassador leaves up first in Atlanta corporate circles, his nickname was *Howdy Howdy*.

Nicknames, it seems, are a bit of a thing with the senior executives headquartered at The Coca-Cola Co. in Atlanta, where for several years Giffin was at a retailer to provide advice on the very serious business of administrative law. And at his 30th birthday party, one Coca executive took a look at a photograph that had been sent out of Giffin as a young boy and stuck him with the name. "Not that the ambassador minds. 'Oh, Gordon is a painfully serious man about what ever task is at hand," says his longtime friend Counsel Stafford, a vice-president at Coca (intolerance: The Possum, because I don't talk trash and look like I've been hit by a lot of cars," he explains) "But Gordon just loves his nickname."

There is a great deal else Giffin seems to be enjoying these days. For starters, the ambassador's job has provided a chance to reacquire himself with the country he grew up in. Though born in Massachusetts, Giffin lived in Montreal and then Toronto until he was 13, a period he recalls with a certain nostalgia and the common Canadian certainty that winters used to be harder and mossier than they are now. Then there is the unique platform Ottawa offers to the ambassador from the workday fully functioning taproom. When the American ambassador speaks, Ottawa must listen—however grudgingly. And despite a professional background in Georgia and Washington back-rooms that helped put Bill Clinton in the White House, Giffin has shown a readiness to come out from the political shadows to make a public case for the American interest.

And he has been very visible. After a quiet first few months on the job, Giffin came out swinging laymanlike in his just written *The Threat of Massive Trade Retaliation from the North*. It laid ground with their controversial bill to protect Canadian manufacturers, cooking a few smart legal bugs in the direction of the steel industry in Heritage Minister Sheila Copps' Hamilton riding. He bluntly told Ottawa to spend more money on its stretched armed forces. And he made it clear that the Liberals' desire to push NATO into reconsidering its first-use nuclear policy is a bad idea. Giffin delivers his messages as politely as Liberal reactioners are left wanting on his high southern manner and gentlemanly style (Copps, who has once head-butted with him more than any other cabinet minister, calls him "Gord"), and watched the Super Bowl at his residence. But they have been stung by his attacks. Whatever happened, Liberals must wonder, to good old Jan Blanchard?



POOR BOY!
Giffin grew up in
Canada, but he got
his nickname in
corporate Atlanta

Ab. Blanchard, the Middle Western Michigan governor who preceded Giffin as U.S. ambassador to Ottawa and who so shamelessly proclaimed his love for Canada. Blanchard was regarded so fondly by Jean Chretien and his top advisers that many of them still call him up on a regular basis just to chat. Blanchard arrived in Ottawa just before the new Liberal government in 1993, then landed with the Chretien cabinet during the 1995 referendum. The Prime Minister's entourage shared polling data and their deepest fears about Lucien Blanchard's mythic crusade with Blanchard, and they became brother-in-arms in the process.

Giffin has left no doubt in Ottawa circles that, as one Foreign Affairs adviser put it, "the U.S. Embassy is under new management." There is a marked difference in style between the two ambassadors. Blanchard the gossipy politician who liked to cut deals, Giffin, in keeping with his own professional background, the lawyer with a client's interest to defend—in this case, the politician the Clinton administration. "My style is to be pretty tough in the weeks, and I spend 90 per cent of my time in private dialogue," he told *Maclean's* last week during an interview in his Ottawa office with its direct view of Parliament Hill. All the public-facing, he says, "is just the tip of the iceberg."

But Giffin's chest is in no easier mood these days, settled with a record trade deficit as, almost alone in the world, its currency booms and frictions with trading partners increase. On the issue of the magazine bill, Giffin argues a forceful approach was necessary because "tardy no, nobody was paying attention to an impending problem. It was necessary to get people to recognize we were on a certain course and private discussions were not getting that attention." The shift in strategy received its first evidence for Giffin in the form of a letter from Ottawa. "I don't know if you know," says Giffin, "but I don't know if you know Giffin's been known Giffin for 25 years and never heard him give a speech. I But Giffin quickly figured out other effective ways to convey his message, notably by coming up to the National Post, which is philosophically inclined against any government action that smacks of protectionism or cronyism."

The result has been some nasty collisions of view between Giffin and the Liberals, with the most heated being Copps and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin. The dispute with Copps over magazine policy descended into some fiery language in a lack and forth of letter writing and newspaper interviews. Copps suggested Giffin seemed far as distance perk at the escalations. Giffin denied it. He contended she had refused to respond to his telephone request to sit down to negotiate a compromise to the bill. Liberal aides argue his message arrived when Copps was out of town, and describe the ambassador's public attacks on the minister as "crummy and cheap." Giffin has since exercised a tactical withdrawal back into the weeks on a 10-day magazine break, making Washington-based trade negotiators to take the lead.

Foreign Affairs officials also express alarm at the U.S. Embassy's aggressive attempts to short-

street a parliamentary committee's call for a re-evaluation of NATO nuclear doctrine. And they consider the embassy's involvement in a campaign to pass *Autorhyth* as anti-American, and less than honest about the potential for "soft power" diplomacy as self-interest. Few things bother *Autorhyth* as much as suggestions he is anti-American, and a departure in official complaints that Giffin's "gloss in the embassy are undermining Lloyd with attacks that border on the personal."

As with Copps, however, the differences have not seemed to affect personal relations with Giffin. *Autorhyth* and Giffin have socialized, most recently in early March at a small private dinner that went late into the evening. "*Autorhyth* is a remarkably talented man who raises ideas that are worth having as part of an international dialogue," Giffin says diplomatically when asked for his opinion of the minister. As for any anti-American streak in the Liberal government, Giffin says, "I seriously doubt anybody goes to work in the federal government on any day and says I'm going to be anti-American today."

Actually, Chretien is always happy when his government can show independence from Washington by tweaking American rules—provided, of course, the cost to Canadian interests is minimal. And Chretien advisers say they like Giffin personally and have never been under any illusions about where his loyalties should—and do—lie. "I have good relations with Gordon and we work well together," says Austin's second-in-command, Ian Canadian counterpart in Washington. "The job of an ambassador is to be an effective defender of your country's interests, and he does that well."

Senior Liberals say the only grating part of Giffin's style is his tendency, as they see it, to invoke his own Canadian upbringing as a license to suggest there is no such thing as an unbiased Canadian. Giffin refuses to be cornered into giving any definition of what constitutes culture and whether, if it exists, it merits protection in global trade. And he does have a tendency to write a checkbook of his Canadian credentials. Sunday night at the Forum watching the Montreal Canadiens in their inaugural game at the 1994 Habs home rink on a made-in-his-office, vintage Gordon Giffin Lightbulb at the Marjorie Park Festival and attending the last baseball game at Toronto's Maple Leaf Stadium all resurface in various interviews. Blanchard loved to recall the inspiration he got from an early training he took across Canada to get to know the country better. Giffin never considered it. "I took that trip," he says easily, "when I was 16."

But his Canadian experiences also seem to be too formative to dismiss as a mere attempt to round out a resume. Friends and political colleagues in Georgia are all aware of his Canadian roots. "Gordon is one of the few guys in Atlanta who knew something about hockey," says old friend Stafford. "Though he never had enough influence over me to get me to a game." Giffin's own impressions are equally as strong. "I grew up in a high school yearbook from Michigan College of Business in Lansing (with an inside cover photograph of Parliament Hill) early takes from a vintage post just sent from his

A gentle U.S. envoy hits hard

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SPECIAL REPORT

current office deed shows the slightly built, close-cropped Giffin as a football player. A defensive back and kick returner, he can describe exactly what it was like to stare into a sky of driving snow waiting for a punt to come down, and the unique roar of returning kicks without a kick catch rate.

But he says he never really doubted he would end up in the United States. His mother was born there, his Canadian-born father was a naturalized American who brought the family to Canada on an employee of an American firm. Giffin left Canada after high school, though not before registration for the U.S. military draft on his 16th birthday, dropping into the U.S. consulate in Toronto to do so. "Not many Americans in Canada were registering for the draft," he recalls with a smile. "They had to send me to the forces." Giffin ended up at the Duke University in North Carolina and Emory University Law School in Georgia.

His exposure to politics came as a member of Georgia's senator Ben Murchison's Washington staff in the post-Watergate 1970s. Under Murchison, the values of probity, good listening and working long hours were nurtured. Even after retirement from politics, Murchison remains a political deity in Georgia and as Capital Hill. His appearance on Giffin's behalf at the ambassador's Senate confirmation hearings seemed to be all the convincing the committee needed to a session notable as much for its jealousy as its brevity.

Giffin left Murchison's Washington staff after four years, ending up in Atlanta where he practiced law and became Murchison's face in the city. "Some people would have used the Murchison connection as a hammer but Gordon used it professionally," says former U.S. congresswoman Lindsey Thomas. Giffin's success in Georgia politics, by all accounts, came from his ability to "factor competing interests in the state's Democratic party machine perhaps most importantly, between Nunn and Clinton, who share a crusty rivalry about each other. It was also a bit Democratic, at least in the state." Gordon has been known to shake a tree or two and staff tells out: sometimes once, sometimes dozens," laughs Atlanta politician Claiborne Darden.

But Clinton's debt to Giffin dates from 1992, when the Georgian helped move his state's primary to the favor of the political outsider Clinton was seen to be in Georgia, and the big win there boosted the momentum of a scandal-plagued campaign in New Hampshire. Since then, Giffin has remained close to the President, which ultimately is what matters to Ottawa. Foreign liaisons about the big power in the south, sensitive about its place in the pecking order of American affairs, Ottawa measures in U.S. an ambassador by how fast they can get the White House on the phone. On fast, Giffin delivers. The Liberals just better hope they like what he is hearing from the other end. □



Hudson, picking his preferred partner

BUSINESS

Newcourt ties the knot

BY KIMBERLEY NOBLE

For consumers of financial services, 1998 was the year of the proposed bank merger. But for the movers and shakers inside Toronto's bank towers, the hotter topic was what was happening to Newcourt Credit Group Inc. The Toronto finance company became the second-largest non-bank lender in January, 1998, when it absorbed AT&T Capital Corp. in a \$2.3-billion deal. Since then, as Newcourt's cocktail party has been complete without a juicy story about Newcourt chief executive Steve Hudson—the guy who bought the house, not door and turn it down to make way for his own home's entrance. In business circles, the big question was whether Newcourt, which provides billions of dollars for the leasing of trucks, aircraft and computers, could continue to duke it out for domination of the non-bank lending market. At what point, Bay Street lenders were asking, would the firm begin to stagger under the load of its debt and jolly ambitions?

The speculation ended abruptly last week when Newcourt announced that it struck a deal to merge with CIT Group Inc. of Livingston, N.J. That firm, which makes its money financing purchases ranging from industrial equipment to RVs and boats, has made its money in partnership with Newcourt ever since Hudson and CIT chief executive Albert Ganz put the two down over sandwiches in Ganzer's office near Newcourt's headquarters. New Jersey-based AT&T Capital Corp. "We just swapped thoughts back and forth," Hudson, 43, told Maclean's. "We thought it might make sense, some point to put Newcourt and CIT together." But the Bank of Canada, which

owned about 80 per cent of CIT, was not likely to approve such a deal. The two men went their separate ways—until a fateful meeting near the end of February.

By then, Newcourt was emerging from the most successful and tumultuous year in its short history. The company, which Hudson and his partners founded in 1984, had reported year-end profit of \$294 million, up from \$36 million in 1997—primarily because of AT&T. But its share price slipped most of 1998 on a roller-coaster ride, swooping to a low of \$38 during a credit crunch last fall. The low share price prompted Deutsche Bank AG to approach Newcourt with an offer to trade the bank's leasing unit for approximately 40 per cent of Newcourt's stock.

The Deutsche Bank talks (which fell apart

early February) prompted Gaiser—whose Japanese owners had by then sold almost half their stake to public investors—to give Hudson another call. "You really don't want to work for Germans," Gaiser (who is descended from Swiss immigrants) told Hudson. "He meant it in a humorous way, but there was a message there," he says. Sooner or later, Newcourt was going to team up with somebody. If it was a big bank, financial markets would for the stock price to shoot up again, they could lose the opportunity to merge with people they liked. Newcourt was weary of rumors, and the impact on employees and operations. The deal with CIT was completed in just 16 days. Under a \$6.6-billion swap, CIT shareholders get 54 per cent of the new corporation, which will have \$76 billion in managed assets and rank as the world's fourth largest consumer and commercial finance firm.

Investors are not wild about the arrangement. Some analysts complained that Newcourt was being sold too cheaply, while others worried that CIT is taking all the credit that it can chew—especially when all CIT wants, some say, is Newcourt's prized list of clients, including Dell Computer Corp., Western Star Truck Holdings Ltd. and Yamaha Motor Canada Ltd. Nelson says Hudson, insisting that what CIT assets most is Newcourt's young, energetic management team. Hudson, who will be president of the new company, is expected to replace Ganzer, the decorated chairman and chief executive, when he retires.

Shareholders or regulators could block the merger. But the move has ended the Street's "loan merger" talks about this deal on a bit easier. "It's like being if I didn't say it wasn't emotional," Hudson says, but such feelings last about five minutes when there are issues to be resolved—out to mention shareholders who still have to be persuaded to stick around for a smoother ride. □

A WILD RIDE

Jan. 12, 1998: Newcourt buys AT&T Capital Corp. for \$2.3 billion to become the world's second-largest non-bank lender after GE Capital Corp. Its stock climbs from just under \$45 to peak at \$76.50 by mid-March.

April-May, 1998: The shares dip to \$65.

On May 20, 1998: Newcourt sets \$580 million in stock to Deutsche-based Janus Capital Corp. and its shares rise to just shy of \$70.

June-July, 1998: Newcourt's prospects and liquidity improve, the stock hits a high of \$78.

Aug. 26, 1998: The company expands a venture with Dell Computer Corp., but by the month's end the share price slips to \$51.50.

Oct. 2, 1998: A crisis of confidence forces Newcourt to buy back \$500 million in unsecured debt and replace it with bank loans and other costlier borrowings. The stock trades as low as \$23.

Oct. 6-23, 1998: Newcourt strikes a deal

with Citicorp, sells a \$100-million loan portfolio and reports a 79-per-cent jump in third-quarter profits. Its stock reaches **November 1998:** Newcourt's announced \$1.8 billion in deals to finance and retool leases, and it sells \$1.5 billion in unsecured notes. The share price fluctuates between \$47.30 and \$58.75.

February, 1999: In talks with Deutsche Bank AG, a proposal is made that the German bank bid about 40 per cent of Newcourt for which the financial firm would issue new stock. The stock hovers around \$50, but trades as low as \$33 after discussions are suspended around Feb. 5.

March 6, 1999: Newcourt agrees to swap \$6.4 billion in stock with CIT Group of New Jersey. CIT shareholders get 54 per cent of the merged company, Newcourt shareholders get 46 per cent. Newcourt shareholders at \$39 before the deal, ends the week at \$38.50.



Java's cup runneth over

Hype isn't in Hollywood, but to really see it in action these days you have to venture up the Pacific coast to Silicon Valley. Segregated between the Santa Cruz Mountains and San Francisco Bay, the birthplace of the microchip is teeming with bright young computer nerds and money-hungry venture capitalists just itching to catch the next big technology wave. Put those two groups together and the result is more billion-dollar startups, and more overhyped new products, than on any other patch of red earth on God's earth.

The loudest buzz at the moment surrounds Linux, a freely distributed operating system that some experts are predicting as a potential threat to Microsoft Windows. Around Silicon Valley, that alone is enough to generate a huge following.

But wait—doesn't this all sound a tad familiar? Two years ago, there was just as much feverish publicity about Java, a revolutionary new programming language from Sun Microsystems. In a way, it was widely portrayed as a Windows killer, yet the last time we looked, Microsoft boss Bill Gates wasn't exactly strapped for cash. What happened?

The obvious answer is to ask its creator, James Gosling, the 44-year-old Canadian engineer who invented Java. Based in rural Alberta, Gosling moved to California 15 years ago after getting his PhD in computer science from Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pa. He's now a vice president at Sun, although the little says more about his value to the company than his day-to-day responsibilities.

Gosling is a modest, laid-back fella; the kind of guy who goes to work in a T-shirt and jeans and would sooner quit than assume the role of a typical senior manager. Thanks to stock options, he's a millionaire several times over, but he gets his kicks taking apart machines and tinkering with lines of computer code. That, after all, is why he took a job in the United States in the first place.

"There are all kinds of research labs around the U.S. that are willing to pay you well to basically bore him, and if you acci-

dently do something interesting then, bingo, they're very happy," he said in an interview in his cluttered office overlooking a parking lot in Cupertino, Calif. "That's basically the only thing that gets me charged up—doing something cool."

In the 1980s, Gosling became famous among his fellow developers as the creator of a text-editing system for Unix, a popular operating system at universities and businesses. But it was Java that put him on the map as far as the rest of the world was concerned. It was originally conceived as a means of allowing all sorts of handheld devices to talk



Gosling—now adviser asks him "the world's greatest programmer"

to one another, but when the World Wide Web caught fire four years ago, Sun began hyping Java as a universal language for the Internet. Using it, a developer could write a program once and it would theoretically run on any kind of computer, regardless of operating system. The idea was so compelling that John Doerr, one of Silicon Valley's top venture capitalists, publicly called Gosling "the world's greatest programmer." Newspapers and magazines rushed to profile him. Overnight, Gosling became a symbol of Sun's long-standing desire to ditch Microsoft and its cumbersome chairman. "In a world without fences," Sun CEO Scott McNeely proclaimed, "who needs Gates?"

"For the first little while," Gosling acknowledges, "the publicity was actually a rush. But after not very long, it became a real pain in the butt. You lose control of your life, you lose control of your time. And pre-

viously you're depressed, because you're just being so admired and getting so much. You wake up one morning and think, 'What the hell happened to my life?' Part of the problem, he says, is that some people's expectations for Java were too lofty. "It was like this magic solution to everything—it was going to cure world hunger, bring peace to Northern Ireland, make everyone a billionaire and destroy the device that you're like, 'Come on guys, get a grip.' Yeah, it's pretty cool and you can do all kinds of things with it, but this is reality."

In fact, by any reasonable standard, Java has been a huge success. Around the world, an estimated one million software developers are now writing programs for it. Industry surveys show that 38 per cent of university computer science schools now teach Java programming, and by next year a projected 72 per cent of the top 1,000 U.S. companies will be using the technology in their computer networks.

In Canada, the early adopters include the University of Western Ontario, which uses Java in its library catalog network, and the formerly unadorned City of Toronto, which needed a way to unite six previously separate systems for registering births, deaths and marriages. Says Gosling: "I still hear people say, 'Gee, we really trust my loan agreement to this technology.' Well, have you received a FedEx package recently? FedEx package tracking is all done with Java code, and I don't know anything that's more real-time and mission-critical than that. Or enter a PCS cellphone call in Montreal? That uses Java code, too. There's lots of examples all over the place."

And those are just for starters. Sun is now pushing a Java software product called J2E, which, according to its creator, is intended to bridge computers and consumer appliances. Imagine leaving the office after work and using a cellphone to turn on the sprinkler system at home, preheat the oven and search hundreds of TV channels to record your favourite shows. Hoping to steal a march on Microsoft, which is developing a similar interface, Sun has allied itself with a consortium of Japanese and European consumer electronics giants led by Sony. If they're successful, Java code will eventually be embedded in hundreds of everyday devices.

Gosling, who is married and has two daughters, now spends most of his time doing leading-edge research on new types of programming languages. Java, he says, is taken on a life of its own. "It's like a kid. At some point, they take control of their own lives and you've just got to say, 'Sail on!—and off they go.' Spoken like a proud father."

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At Work

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At Home

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HOW TEENS GOT THE POWER

Gen Y has the cash, the cool—and a burgeoning consumer culture

BY ANDREW CLARK

Adolescents sit in a fashionable Toronto office, full taking part in a focus group organized by Youth Culture Inc., a company that tracks trends. YC's creative director Gary Butler and Sean Sarag, a demographer with KantarMedia Research Group, want to know what exactly prompts teens to spend their money on CDs, movies, video games and fashion. Their impression? *Genie*. Granger, 14, says she is wary of commercials and marketing, yet spends \$50 a popular baby carriage. Eighteen-year-old Mike London proudly shows top-top clothes with the "Put Farm" label and says: "Show me a commercial that says 50 percent off—that's a good commercial to me." Chu Nguyen, 14, says she would "kill a world that didn't respond to advertising." So much for giving insight into the mind-set of the "teen age" teens. The message: there is no such thing as an average teen. "The deeper people dig," says the 16-year-old Sarag, "the more they realize that teens are all over the map."

Why do companies want to pin kids down? Call it a Youthquake. Call it Teen Power. Whatever, for the first time since the baby boom, kid culture is king. Teens have more money in their pockets than ever before, and their influence is everywhere—in music stores with CDs by bands ranging from The Moffatts and Britney Spears to Korn and The Gipsy Kings, in clothing stores with labels such as Juicy and Juicy, on TV with programs such as *Dawson's Creek* and *Freaky*, and in movies such as *Crossroads* and *Styly*. *MacMillan's* teen audience has grown 80 per cent since 1996. "It's all about pop culture," says Granger, an eleventh-grader from Toronto. "A lot of culture is all about buying."

Fast, never before has so much been gifted to so many who are so young. Advertisers are pursuing kids in TV, at print and even in schools. Their quarry comprise the so-called Echo or Y Generation (born between 1960 and 1980), the largest demographic in Canada next to their baby-boomer parents (those born between 1947 and 1960). University of Toronto economics professor David Foot, author of the best-selling book, *Just & Echo 2000*, says the Echo Generation is a nationwide phenomenon with its highest concentrations in Ont-



tario and the West. Statistics Canada predicts that by July, there will be 4.1 million Canadians between 10 and 19 years of age. By the year 2004, that number will swell to 4.4 million. And it's not just their closet last year, nine- to 19-year-olds spent an astonishing \$13.3 billion in Canada. "That number is going to do nothing but go up," says Lindsay Meredith, a professor of advertising at Seneca Junior University in Burnaby, B.C. "This is the gold rush."

Not that kids are doing nothing but shopping: more teens than ever are volunteering in hospitals and community centres, they are athletes, socially aware and confident in their ability to make a difference. Nor are all teens part of the buying boom, many, obviously, don't have the means. But there is no doubting kids' overall economic power, and they

are wielding it across the country, through TV and the Internet—a generation intimately connected to its shared (if diverse) culture. Rebecca Bruser lives in Yellowknife, thousands of kilometers from the fashion centers, but still keeps current: the 17-year-old Grade 12 student buys much of her wardrobe from DeWitt's (at about \$200 per order), a New York-based online clothing catalogue. "It's better to have something no one else has," she says. "It shows you're an individual rather than just having the Gap." Her baby boomer mother, Deborah Bruser, is puzzled by Rebecca's spending. "In the '60s, I had little old kids, like wanting a major sweater, but it was this cottage. They just didn't like it, I see today." In North Vancouver, Vanessa's (Rhonda's), 16, earns \$200 a month working as a clerk in the family antique shop, and he rushes out to buy the latest hip-hop CD. "I just have to be there when it is released." When 16-year-old Vance Wright shops in her home town of Halifax, her purchases "have to be a brand name, a label. It's just my taste." Her cousin Shawn Wright, 14, spends his money on food, music and clothes, but "not brand names—I don't care what people think."

Advertisers and marketers divide the demographic into two distinct groups—mostly 14-year-olds "teens" and 15- to 19-year-olds teens. In Canada, there are 3.4 mil-



Carvery, Kellie Wright and cousin Shawn Wright in Halifax: shopping at Toronto's Luscious Fringe lights: teens are making their own purchases—and even tapping parents on family accounts

lion teens with \$1.5 billion to spend, according to a Creative Research International Inc. survey commissioned by the cable channel YTV. Seventeen per cent of teens have ATM bank cards, and each teen spends roughly \$137 per year on back-to-school gear. Seventy-six per cent have Internet access either at home or at school. Susan Maslowsky, vice-president of marketing with YTV, says the key to reaching teens lies in understanding their "own intelligence—we never tell a teen that they are a teen." Teens want to be teens, they buy products that make them feel sophisticated. Eyetracking Research findings show that on average, 12-to-14-year-olds want to be 16, while 15-to-16-year-olds want to be 20.

So while teens spend to feel like teens, teens try to cultivate themselves as "young adults." There are 2.5 million teens between 12 and 17 years old, according to Statistics Canada. And while Generation X, the 20th-century teens who were maligned as "latchkeys" after raising in the reality of inflation and unemployment, the current crop has high expectations. "They are totally optimistic," says Victor Thiesen, a sociology professor at Dalhousie University in Halifax. "Teens have not had an experience where the world goes down. They take for granted that they are going to work." Meanwhile, they are going to spend. Youth Culture Inc.'s Butler estimates that a teen's own has a disposable income of \$200 a month.

They also consider themselves immune to the tricks of the advertising trade. Born hardened from birth, they know they are being pitched and are suspicious. They recognize their own power. At the Youth Culture focus group, there are nods of agreement when 14-year-old Isaac Halaban remarks: "I like the idea of a bunch of advertising executives sitting in a room, instead of a bunch of kids out trying to figure out how to sell to us."

The resounding power of the Echo Generation seems to be a North American phenomenon. Sarag did not have the same baby boom that North America experienced, so there is not the accompanying "boomlet." In the United States, however, the Echo market is staggering: seven major research companies, a Washington, D.C.-based demographics firm, says there are 26 million teens who last year spent \$84.1 billion (U.S.)—almost twice as much as a decade ago. That has U.S. companies

building for a slice of that pie, and their products spill over into Canada. Teen People boasts 10 million readers each issue. Launched in 1983, the circuitous, teen-grown (over 500,000 to 1.2 million, rising) is one of the fastest-growing magazines in American publishing history. "It wasn't cool to be a teen in the '70s or '80s," says managing editor Christina Ferraro. "The teenage pop culture hasn't taken centre stage since the late '60s and '70s."

Where does today's money come from? Studies show that while the popularity of after-school jobs is important, it is not the source of the vast majority of kids' cash. A recent report by the American Council on Social Development showed the youth labour market is actually at its lowest point in 35 years—fewer than half of 15-to-19-year-olds students worked in 1997, down from two-thirds in 1989. The big money instead comes from family sources. Fast cash: teens "in-pocket kids" who get money from mom, dad, grandparents and

Female teens spread news on CDs and became their dad's ad on pop buttons. These teenyboppers made the Spice Girls a global phenomenon and drew one teen idol after another. The Backstreet Boys drew an audience of 13 million in Canada when they appeared on the 1997 YTV Achievement Awards. How though: they are old enough to become the new bad boys of the Decembers. British Columbian hard-rockers The Mo'Nitions, and Sade, a quartet formed in 1987 by Orlando, Fla.-based Trans Continental Records, the first outfit that created the Backstreet Boys and 'N Sync. Take SH CD debut in February and the teens have added a legions of die-hard fans. Sixteen-year-old singer Tiffany James recalls being at a video arcade, and when they



One of the most significant trends between and across social and ethnic subcultures. They are, by far, the most racially diverse groups in Canada's history. And they are getting more so: a 1996 Statistics Canada survey found that 45,000 of the 200,000 immigrants who enter the country each year are school-age children and teens. Kids are constantly boosting parental pressure to do the math of their Canadian poor growth. My parents are always trying to get me to hang out with friends in poor



Smoking over The Mollets in Hamilton: Robinson's Ploche (left); die-hard fan

If baby boomers were the TV generation, then their children are the Web generation who come up by the light of their computer monitors. Echo links are accustomed to gathering information and communicating online—and boomers are even more wired than their teen offspring. They grew up with the Web, and they have more time to spend online. "The teens that have Web access want to go out—why sit in front of a computer?" says Youth Culture's Butler. "Twennies have car stereo

In any case, independent stores without big marketing budgets pursue trends as other ways—including personal service. "They're like their parents, they like independent shops," says 25-year-old Shadi Doshi, who, along with his father and two brothers, owns Souda, a teen store in the West Edmonton Mall. "I'll see a kid come in three or four times, I'll see. The point is to know the top of it." Souda sells a range of



THE POLY-CULTURAL PARADE

MUSIC

Elvis Presley
Buddy Holly
Paul Robeson

TELEVISION

Leave It to Beaver
The Many Lives of Dobie Gillis
American Bandstand

MOVIE

Rebel Without a Cause Blockboard Jangle Tollhouse Rock

STYLE

with skirts and saddle shoes
or cuts or graced-back, but
(jumps) cutted

The Beatles, The Rolling Stones
The Temptations, The Supremes
Bubba Dylan, Joel Mitchell

David Bowie
The Sex Gern and Downs Summer
The Sex Pictols

Michael Jackson
Mediant
Dorian DorianPearl Jam
Singer
Beauty

77 Sunset Strip
The Wood Squad
The Man From U.N.C.L.E.

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Nepot Days**
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Family Tree
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Friends
Season 10, DVD**

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American Graffiti
Halloween
Condo

Times at Ridgecrest High
The Breakfast Club
Ends, Encores

Charles
Screen
Theater

Long hair
Markings
Leaves: both bottom and patches

Ferris Fawcett has
Foster points
Designer jeans

Jeans: ripped, tight
and well-worn

Grange
Hip-hop
ans: beauty or fire

Met with Phillips, teen idol At the height of his career, he is no teenager, but he plays one in the movies. This blond Adonis with the prototype post-war body who got disfigured in the Vietnam film *Apocalypse Now* (*War* DVD Last Summer 1989) — co-starring with Sarah Michelle Gellar of TV's *Buffy* as Namdar Singh — is the finest lead who danced without a last year's box-office bomb *Boys & Girls*, co-starring with Gellar as *Crash* (Amazon), playing a young Indian who conspires to seduce a perpetually school-struggling, 16th-century English girl (Gellar) in *Crash* (Amazon). *Crash* is the most subtle of films in the Amazon line-up, *Crash* is the most of a new breed of movies that are jacking up the sex, kick farass, in Hollywood these days, because *Crash* is all the rage.

Check out what points for cred in *Cruel Intentions*: Sebastian (Pitt/Killip) makes a wager with his stepmother, Kathryn (Gellar), who dares him to seduce a *Seventeen* magazine cover girl who advocates premarital chastity. If he fails, he must forfeit his prized 1996 Jaguar. If he succeeds, his stepmother promises to go to bed with him, sweetening the deal with an offer he can't refuse. "You can put anywhere you like!" Yikes. We have come a long way from *Beverly Hills Cop*.

But then, these teens are also no innocents. The virgin teen is played by Nicole Wilderposon, a 23-year-old who began her career at 14. She is now engaged to Philippe, and pregnant with his child. And as the stepmother—who used to co-star from a silver screen—Gellar seems gleefully intent on driving a knife through her nephews' TV image as *Boys*. As for Philippe, he considers high school the ideal setting for a tale of sexual cruelty. "It's the last bastion for people born as concerned with reputation," he told *Melrose*'s "Rich in high school are so mediocre and spoiled." But then he adds, "I hope this movie isn't taken off that easily. For lack of a better word, it's cool. I dig the clothes, I like the car, the dialogue is kinda funny. These kids are weird, out-there and well-educated and bottom-line are smart, and that's what makes them so scary."

Or you can make stars.

It has been said Hollywood is "high school with money." The phrase, a nice pretension, was meant as metaphor, or the worse: that Hollywood is a professional prom, a Darwinian pigment rained by cliques, glamour and a poor tennis set. These days, however, Hollywood literally looks like high school with money: In one movie after another, teenage girls are plotting romance, class nerds are plotting revenge, jocks are learning humility, and wicked prom queens are biting the dust. *She's All That*, *Cruel Intentions*, *Mean*, *Invincible*, *Fluffy Man*, *Outer Space*, *Game 2*, *Remember—these are the two-chained movies from just this month. In coming weeks, look for *Go, Never Been Kissed*, *De De De*, *House*.*

Teen flicks are inexpensive, and there seems to be an insatiable demand for them. Almost every week a new release takes on the youth market, often recouping its budget overnight as the box office dwells on its opening weekend. *Great American*



Witherspoon (left), Phillippe Soffi, Gellar la Cruz (center), and Soffi.

cost \$17 million, made \$20.5 million in its opening weekend. *Don't Be Afraid of the Dark* and *Twenty Five*, which each cost about \$5 million, opened with box-office grosses of \$26 million apiece.

Stallo curiously cannot help giggling. In a recent interview with *Mirrorball*, Columbia Pictures president Amy Poisson said: "What's great about making these kinds of movies—and we make a lot of them—is that they have a very focused audience. Look at all the money we made on *Space Force*. You know how much that made around the world? And it cost nothing." *Stille, Bluff!* earned \$2

Today's teen flicks have come a long way from '60s fare like *Beach Blanket Bingo*

million globally, just times its budget. "That's good business."

Don DeSena, president of film production at 20th Century Fox, notes: "Hollywood always follows where the business dollars go," he says. "The children of the baby boomers are a huge bump in the demographic charts; they're becoming teenagers and they love to go to the movies." Adds Rothman, "They're a clear target audience, and they're intensely discriminating. They know the real from the fake, and they are aggressive, selective consumers. So you have to come up with a good product."

To give a face, an instant generation of movie stars has emerged. Many have migrated from television—including *Baywatch*'s Daxx, *21 Jump Street*'s James Van Der Beek and Julie Holmes, former of *Five Partners* Jennifer Love Hewitt and New Campbell, *Saturday's* Melissa Joan Hart, Claire Danes of *My So-Called Life*, and *And in the End*'s Sarah Polley. But there's—noticeably Freddie Prince Jr., Rose McGowan, Matthew Lillard and Philippe—none double-tracked to films to slather hits, either. *Scrum* or *I Know What You Did Last Summer*.

[illegible]

The few teen movies geared to guys like *Rebel Without a Cause*, the earliest story of a Teen who becomes a local hero, takes time as a girls club. American Pie, meanwhile,



Senses from Top to bottom) *Awakeners*; *Sha's All That*; *Never Been Kissed*: cheeky glamour, opportunistic sex—and big profits to the Hollywood studios

sleep ja
found a
years. To
grade se
patience,
question
and then

of a teenage boy getting intimate with a woman apple pie. In most teen flicks, however, the guys seem to serve as decorative frankie freddie props; it may get too boring as *She's All That* has, but the female characters nail the shirt. And Philippe in the body, not the brain, behind *Crash* *Intervista*—he also has the movie's only major scene, stepping down to check the music-soothing women.

The film's novice writer-director Rager Kumbie, 32, says he had planned *Crash* as a low-budget indie. "I thought I was going to get a million dollars and make something that would play at the art houses," he recalls. "Because I cast the two leads of *I Know What You Did Last Summer* and one of them is Buffy, we got pegged in with the teen film. I always thought it would play more to college kids."

[illegible]

Of course, every young actor wants to grow gracefully out of the teen movie ghetto. It is no easy feat: Gellar recently played a chef in a semi-grown-up romantic-fable called *Sweetly Interrupted*, and it isn't like an ill-fated soufflé. As for Philippe, he realizes he is getting too old to play adolescents—even if he and Wisniewski were to come to be starring in a family

And the fact the two creators of *Crash*'s intentions get presented intentionally? "She thinks that's a personal question," says Philippe, noting that his fiancée is 10 feet away. "But I don't really mind. It happened. We just seemed like a blessing. We'd been together two years, this business does insure you pretty quickly. It is as if I can handle it. We have the energy, we have the house the money. It just felt like something I shouldn't do, she shouldn't question. We thought about it for a while and... apparent." Spoken like a true adult. ☐

People

Edited by
TANIA DARTES

Flying high with Sky

Sky is not your average pretty-boy, fast-to-the-pop pop group. Sure, young girls squealed and asked for autographs when **Armin Remael** and **Antoine Scotto**, both 36, were on a promotional tour last month. Yet, the Montreal duo are brutal and goofy-looking, and their album, *Pure of Paradise*, became the highest-selling Canadian debut its first week, and sold 100,000 units—to go platinum—in the first month. But what sets them apart from the other boy pop bands is that Remael and Scotto are very much in control of their art: "It's my ultimate pleasure, knowing I have a record that I can say 'It's good ol'," says Scotto. "We wrote all these songs, we did the arrangements, it's completely us."

Montreal native Scotto and Remael, from La Tuque, Quebec, met at a Montreal recording engineering school in 1990. "We happened to be sitting next to each other," recalls Remael, "and Antoine looked pretty weird—wearing leather pants." Ripples Scotto: "Looking at him, I thought the same. He had a long beard and I'd never seen anyone my age with a beard." Although the two had little in common—except love of the same music—they started a band and dropped out of school. They produced a live song, recorded a demo, *Armin*, which they released on their own label in 1997. When 40 Quebec radio stations played it, Sky landed a



Scotto (left) and Remael: duo's debut album went platinum

deal with EMI Music Canada in February, 1998. "They were looking for a pop act," says Remael, "and definitely we are. But we can be a long-term pop act." New York City-based Arista Records limits to the recording company recently agreed to release *Pure of Paradise* in the United States, Britain and Japan. "My role in the whole project is to be the secretary," says Scotto. Adds Remael: "And the decision now—I can't make my mind up about anything."

Reviving ancient Egypt in Canada

In 1972, divorced, on welfare and trying to raise two children, **Purdine Gedge** knew what she needed to do to turn her life around—write a book. So she moved in with her father, an ornate fixer, Alvin, and with a promise to clean at his residence for room and board, penned an entry for *Alberta's Newsworld* magazine. "In my family, each generation has a priest, a writer and a child," says Gedge, now 53. "I was determined not to be the latter." Three years later, with her third attempt, she won the competition and a publishing contract for *Child of the Morning*, a fictionalized biography of Egypt's only female pharaoh, **Queen Hatshepsut**.

Gedge is now one of Canada's finest historical novelists. Her first eight books, including five on ancient Egypt, have sold six



Gedge: from welfare rolls to literary accomplishment

million copies and have been translated into 15 languages. Foreign-rights sales to her latest trilogy, *Legends of the Two Lands*, total \$1 million. "I didn't think I would make a career out of writing," says Gedge, who lives 200 km southeast of Edmonton with her husband and researcher, **Bernie Ramassanakis**, 38. "I just knew I didn't want a 9-to-5 job."

Born in New Zealand, Gedge was first drawn to Egypt when she sailed through the Suez Canal at age 8 and could see the country from the ship. As a teenager living in England, she threw herself into any subject that involved Egypt. But when her father took a preaching position in rural Manitoba in 1959, there were few resources for her to continue her Egyptian studies. That was, Gedge credits her lack of formal education, in part, for her success. "I don't have fancy letters after my name," she says, "but I fill in the gaps that the education doesn't see." Gaps that her readers obviously love.

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Seventy-five per cent of Internet traffic in North America circulates on optical transmission equipment designed in the Greater Montreal area, the telecommunications capital of Canada. With a solid base of knowledge-intensive and new technology industries, the region numbers more than

500 companies in this sector alone, employing more than 35,000 highly-specialized workers. Telecommunications giants located in the area hold world-wide contracts for the design, manufacture and marketing of cables and connectivity products, including high-capacity fibre optics networking technology.

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knowledge and competitiveness are internationally renowned, such as remote sensing, voice recognition, aeronautical communications, international and intercontinental telephony, high-speed data transmission and telecommunications network planning. Valued at \$5 billion in 1997, the rate of the exportation

which is currently growing at 45 per cent yearly, demonstrates international competitiveness. Government has acknowledged the importance of Greater Montreal's telecommunications industry by providing support through the creation of university chairs. The region now has more than 10

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Its Business is Sound

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cations industry benefits from significant tax incentives which help maintain its competitive position. It also enjoys one of the strongest concentrations of venture capital in North America. The region's four universities and several other higher education and research centres contribute to Greater Montreal's

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Obituary

A picture of grace

Joe DiMaggio was a Yankee legend

BY TRENT FRAYNE

In the 13 years that Joe DiMaggio played centre field for the New York Yankees, he stalked a Grand Canyon in left-centre with the grace and sweep of a sea gull. He looked after right-centre, too, but because of the peculiar orbital perimeter of Yankee Stadium is Joe's territory, right-centre wasn't as imposing a wasteland.

When he died last week at age 84, after battling a series of complications following lung cancer surgery in October, millions who saw Joe play baseball half a century ago found something special to remember—the wide batting stance, the arrowlike strides. What comes into my mind's eye is a short video of him picking down soaring fly balls to left-centre. The plate of Yankee Stadium measured 461 feet to centre field and 457 feet to left-centre before the stadium was renovated in 1973. Of course, deepest centre in Toronto's SkyDome is 400 feet from home plate, and the left-centre alley is 375. Joe always seemed to know where he was looking, where the ball would come down, and in smooth, flowing strides he'd arrive there just as it did, almost casually allowing it to end its journey safely in the crack. Black glove? No sweat, no visible wear.

But perhaps inevitable, far away from the ball park, his seldom seemed at ease. In public he rarely smiled, features set in solemn lines, his emotions always concealed. In the book *Sawyer* of '89, David Halberstam writes that DiMaggio's fear of being publicly humiliated never diminished. Once, the Yankee manager Casey Stengel told Joe to play first base. He apparently felt uncomfortable with the switch although he said nothing. But teammate Tonya Bizarich noticed later in the game that Joe's uniform shirt was soaked in sweat. "It was caused by tension from the fear of embarrassing him-

self," Halberstam concludes. Also, when he was discharged by the U.S. army in 1945 after three years in Hawaii, the reason was stomach ulcers.

Shy and aloof when he joined the Yankees as a 21-year-old high-school dropout and son of a San Francisco fisherman from



With Marilyn, he ordered roses placed on her grave 'forever'

Sicily, DiMaggio shunned the spotlight though frequently was trapped in it. There was a dignity about him and a reserve that kept newspapermen at their distance. Indeed, most of them seemed in awe. Once, years ago when Joe was in his early 60s, he was a guest at baseball's annual midsummer all star game in New York City. In the afternoon, he was unexpectedly ushered into the hotel press room by a baseball official, a room where Roy MacGregor, then of the *Ottawa Citizen*, and I were chatting. We were both slightly astounded when this gathering of baseball scribes

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OBITUARY

burst into lengthy hand-clapping and even cheers upon DiMaggio's entrance. He seemed uncomfortable being the focus of attention,idgetting with a handkerchief, dabbing at his forehead. He looked as he'd always looked away from the ball park—as a dark suit, white shirt, dark tie—a lean six-foot-two and 185 lb.

Even after his marriage to Marilyn Monroe in 1946, Joe tried to avoid attention. They honeymooned in Tokyo where he remained in the obscurity of their hotel suite while she went to Korea to visit American troops. She appeared on an elevator platform before tens of thousands of soldiers, and upon her return to Tokyo, she died to her husband: "It was so wonderful, Joe. You've never heard such cheering."

"Yes, I have," said Joe DiMaggio. He was 30 and she 27 in a marriage that lasted only nine months. When she died eight years later, he went to Los Angeles to take charge of her funeral. Then, he ordered roses to be placed on her grave "forever." These roses, in the words of Robert Loyte of *The New York Times*, "filled his former above the players of Washington and Hollywood while his next and not abandoned her."

DiMaggio grew up in San Francisco amid a brood of five boys and four girls. His two oldest brothers, Tom and Michael, followed their father into the fishing fleet and the next three sons, Vince, Joe and Dominic, became major-league ball players. Vince had a fine singing voice and, at one point, was tagged for training in Italy; instead, he spent 20 unblemished years with four National League teams, mostly with Pittsburgh. Dom, two years younger than Joe, became an excellent 11-year future in centre field for the Boston Red Sox. It was said of the DiMaggios that Joe could hit, Dom could field, and Vince was a singer.

But it was Joe's come that appealed to songwriters and novelists. "Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?" was a Simon and Garfunkel line in the song *Alone*. *Shogun*: Big hands thumped out music for the lyrics "Joe, Joe, DiMaggio. We want you on our side." A severe foot injury that plagued DiMaggio and sidelined him for the first 69 games in 1949 found its way into Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*. The weary *Ernest*, albeit in his last moments, "I must be worthy of the great DiMaggio who does all things perfectly every with the pain of the knee upon his back." And in Rodgers and Hammerstein's 1949 Broadway hit *South Pacific*, there's the roiled character Bloody Mary "whose skin is no tender as DiMaggio's glove."

So he was a legend, a man who played in 11 all-star games, 10 World Series, was the American League's most valuable player three times, and whose 56-game hitting streak in 1941 is still a record. As always, dignity intact. □



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Sex at \$15 a tablet

Now that Viagra has approval, who will pick up the tab?

BY JOHN NICOL

Bill Smith, a 55-year-old laundry-machine operator from Fredericton, knows there are his salad days revisited. As one of 300 Canadian men participating in the clinical trials of the impotency drug Viagra, he has been putting samples for two years. "They're free, so why not use them?" he says. According to Smith, he now has sexual intercourse with his 35-year-old girlfriend four or five times a week. With Health Canada granting its approval last week for doctors to start prescribing Viagra, and with Smith's trial coming to a close this summer, he says he wants to slow down. "I don't suppose I'll be taking it every day if I have to pay for it," says Smith, considering the cost of roughly \$15 per pill. "But I definitely will pay for it. It's a wonder drug."

It's not, however, totally free of controversy. *Maclean's* has learned that another Fredericton man taking part in the same clinical trial died of a heart attack, although his urologist, Dr. Allen Patrick, considers a connection with Viagra unlikely. "He didn't take Viagra on the same day," said Patrick, "so I suspect it's a coincidence." Perhaps, but when the man went to a hospital suffering from chest pains, he was given aspirin/ibuprofen—commonly administered to patients with heart problems—and died shortly after.

After Canada's first multinational manufacturer of Viagra, not without its caveats. Since Viagra's approval in the United States a year ago, the label has cautioned against taking the drug in combination with any nitrate medication for heart problems. In November, Pfizer revealed the labels to include further guidance for assessing cardiac risk. By then, U.S. authorities had recorded 130 fatal heart attacks among men taking Viagra. In Ottawa last week, Paul Rowell, head of Health Canada's medical review of Viagra, said he examined all of those deaths and concluded that "no cause and effect has been established with Viagra."

With the much-publicized title blue pill now desired to arrive in



Patterson/Viagra could lower costs of treating impotence-related problems

Canadian drugstores by the end of the month, who will pick up the tab? Insurers, employers and governments must decide whether to budget for Viagra in their health-insurance plans or deny coverage to any untreated three million men, most of them over age 50, who suffer from erectile dysfunction. The boom will end for pharmacies in Coles, Me, Lewiston, N.Y., Missoula, N.D., Ferndale, Wash., and other border hamlets where prescription-writing Canadians flocked for the pill that the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved last March. And many hopeful Canadians will have to face up to their unglamorous sobriety advice—Viagra is not for everyone with erectile problems.

Over the past year, the drug has become a phenomenon, with 60 million pills taken by seven million American men. Its popularity has spawned thousands of jokes and opened the cover all a sceptical topic. But it has also attracted entrepreneurs who sell the drug illegally and illegally on the Internet, and mysterious operations of forcing Viagra to Canadian snowbirds in Florida and Arizona. Pfizer Canada has set aside a legal budget to prosecute anyone selling it inappropriately—mistake of what happened with the drug's release in Britain last summer. Within weeks, three per cent of patients—including women—suffered at three London hospitals had experimented with the drug. "The only reason I have [about the Canadian approval] is that people will fake symptoms to get a pre-

scription," says Sutherland undigested Dr. Peter Lau. "No one should be using it recreationally."

For Alfred Gee and his wife, Joyce, two 50-year-olds who live in rural Gloucester, Ont., the drug is a marriage savior. Alfred had lost his ability to get an erection after a lung operation in 1990. Joyce thought it would take a few months for her husband to regain his strength. Six years later, Joyce wondered, "Are we not going to have with each other? Is the marriage on the way out?" Alfred, at Joyce's urging, was accepted in Viagra trials in Kingston, Ont., and responded well to the drug. After what Joyce calls "a long spell" when there was nothing, they began making love two or three times a week. "It was absolutely fantastic," she says. "We just got our whole life back."

Dr. Peter Pattersonville, a urologist in Victoria, says any debate about finding Viagra should consider savings from staying no longer stuck on related problems. "How much do we pay for loss of self-esteem, depression, less productivity at the workplace?" he asks, not to mention the cost of surgery, fertility treatments and infertility. But the B.C. government health plan has set the stage to reject Viagra from its list of covered drugs by turning down two other treatments for erectile dysfunction. Coveject, a drug injected into the penis, and Mase, a pellet inserted into the urethra. On the other hand, British Columbia does pay for silicone tube implants in the penis, which with surgery, hospital stay and examinations would cost the province, Pattersonville says, about \$11,000 per patient. Some of his patients choose that option, rather than the drugs, simply because it is free.

Approved by a provincial drug plan would allow virtually free access for those on social assistance—and for seniors, who are likely to be Viagra's primary users. In British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Quebec, provinces that offer drug coverage to citizens not otherwise covered by a plan, the approval could carry significant costs. In New Brunswick, Patrick says Viagra has no chance of being approved for the provincial drug plan. The province has already rejected his attempts to have Mase covered. "I know of no well the bottom-line of demand for medications and the shrinking public purse," he says.

COULD IT ALSO WORK FOR WOMEN?

When it comes to Viagra, is what's good for the gender also good for the goose? Dr. Rosalyn Benson, a Vancouver-based sexual medicine specialist, has spent four months studying the impact of the erectile dysfunction treatment on 14 women suffering from a lack of sexual arousal. Benson's research is part of an international study sponsored by the British arm of Viagra manufacturer, Pfizer Inc. Results have not yet been tabulated or made public, but Benson cautions against any expectation of a quick fix of a woman's sexual life. "We have far

more to do with non-medical factors, such as partner interaction, than with her medical status."

Viagra's popularity with men stems from its success in overcoming an inability to produce erections. Women, too, have erectile tissue that becomes engorged with blood in a state of arousal around the opening of the vagina, under the least of the clitoris. However, says Benson, "women are not particularly interested that you've changed the blood flow. So what? It may not increase their enjoyment, their sensation, their ability to become excited, to reach orgasm." But little research has been done on the topic, she says, because of the complexity of female arousal.



Drug industry insiders say Quebec is the most likely province to approve Viagra because it already covers Coveject. But approval in Quebec comes with a twist—any drug that the province includes must also be covered by private insurers. Approval by Quebec, says Jean Claude Beaudet of the Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association, would ensure that the benefits packages for up to 2.5 per cent for large employers, and more for smaller companies.

But Barry Noble, national director of managed care for Toronto-based Manulife Financial, says his company is encouraging pharmaceuticals to include Viagra. People with erectile dysfunction often have a parallel problem, such as diabetes. "If we're allowing medications to treat the disease," says Noble, "how can we not treat the complications of the disease?" Besides, he says, denying the drug to employees may lead to a human rights challenge.

"To include it may be discriminating against males," he says. "If our clients don't want to cover Viagra, we suspect that they exclude from the drug plan the entire category of sexual dysfunction drugs," including medications such as estrogen for women.

Drug company sources expect any plan that do accept Viagra to set limits on their coverage. Tim Verbe, marketing development manager for Sanofi-Synthelabo, has suggested a cap of \$1,200—roughly 60 pills—for eligible employees and dependant each year. A limit, says Noble, "doesn't prevent them from buying more. In fact, no one involved in the issue expects costs to be a big factor for those who want access to the drug. Doctors who took part in trials across Canada say that even such side-effects as mild headaches, a blue tinge to their vision and nasal flushing did not discourage men from taking the drug."

St. Catharines, Ont., physician Ron Casselman, who has written hundreds of prescriptions for his patients to fill at a pharmacy in Lewiston, N.E., cautions against unrealistic expectations. For starters, Canadian regulations will exclude thousands of men who are an irritant for their heart problems. "Viagra is not the panacea, the silver every thought it would be," says Casselman, who has found it ineffective in older men who haven't had sex in years. "The gold standard is still testosterone therapy, but Viagra is a much-welcomed option if men's have taken so long for approval."

But Health Canada's delay in granting approval—almost a year after its U.S. introduction—may have saved lives, says Dr. Sidney Wolfe, co-leader of the Public Citizen's Health Research Group, an advocacy group based in Washington. The United States' unwelcome blacked-in approval, he says, meaning that Viagra was an aisle item for eight months before Pfizer received the labels. But Wolfe is disappointed that Health Canada did not follow Britain's lead and forbid doctors from prescribing it to anyone who has suffered a recent heart attack or stroke. Whatever the regulations, even Pfizer is unwilling to let the success of Viagra depend on a contest between a physician and patient to make sure the drug is being used safely. □

THE OSCAR WARS

The Elizabethan Age and the Second World War square off in Tinseltown's homage to itself

For once, it's a horse race. After last year's *Titanic* deluge, the 71st annual Academy Awards on Sunday are shaping up to be a real contest. With secretary cancellations, the nominated movies are squared off to an epic showdown between love and war. In one corner we have the civilizing influence of brave Elizabethan women making a fictional entrance in a man's world—(*Shakespeare in Love* and *Elizabeth*). In the other, we have scared men trying to survive the barbaric savagery of the Second World War—(*Saving Private Ryan*, *The Thin Red Line* and *Late August in Sichuan*). All the bestpicture nominees are period films—Oscar has always liked a costume party. The producers designing the big production numbers for this century's final Oscar pageant must feel they have died and gone to Hollywood heaven. What will g be? Conflicts of Elizabethan ladies in white? Or was blackened industry now skipping from landing craft?

Although everybody saw Billy Crystal last bowed out of the emcee job this year, there is no shortage of movie-legend fodder for *Whoopi Goldberg*. But don't expect a lot of snappy one-liners about Roberto Benigni's Holocaust tragedy *Life Is Beautiful*—unless they come from Benita Hume. The Italian director's sweetly mimicked tone-deaf force is reminiscent of seven Oscars, a record for a foreign-language film. Hence his hope for when one of *Oscar*—for the sheer pleasure of seeing Benigni—puts the stage like Robin Williams on helium and wails the presenter. When he won the runaway prize at the Cannes film festival last May, he endorsed every member of the jury and kissed the feet of its president, Martin Scorsese. According to the best-actor prize from the Screen Actors Guild, recently, he lashed Martin Hume off his legs and berated his around. Roberto is on a roll.

Saving Private Ryan and *Shakespeare in Love* are, of course, the favorites for best picture. Considering the age and conservatism of the academy, the safe bet is *Ryan*. Steven Spielberg's open triumph on three fronts, with critical acclaim, historical gravity and massive box office success. But the battle is Spielberg's to lose. His film was considered a disaster ever since it was released last July. Then, *Shakespeare* swept into view before Christmas and snatched the lion's share of a rapturous—

ES, too more than *Private Ryan*.

While *Oscar* is usually a snob about romantic comedy, he has a soft spot for playing dress up with history and literature. This makes *Shakespeare* the belle of the ball. Aside from cinema's mindbogglingly weird escape from the horrors of this century, it is also a thoroughly modern movie about show busi-

FILM



Kevin O. Johnson



Shakespeare in Love is Benigni's delectable, diplomatically provoked screen seduction

ness. *Oscar* loves nothing in the world better than show business. Meanwhile, after years of escalating rivalry between Hollywood studios and unrivaled independent film, the 1999 Academy Awards mark a watershed. Miramax Films, which is owned by Disney, has cornered the market on brokering classic independent fare. In previous years, it has championed *Pulp Fiction*, *Good Will Hunting* and *The English Patient*. This year, it is pushing *Shakespeare in Love* and *Life Is Beautiful* with a zeal that has caused its studio rivals to cry foul. No one guesses *Oscar*'s palm with more gold than Miramax—it has spent \$23 million promoting *Shakespeare*, including \$4.6 million on a bill aimed directly at the academy's 5,537 members. Politics and money mean a lot to *Oscar*. Not to mention clothes. As usual, he is a naked, gold-plated guy with a sword between his legs. But what about art? Are the dirty-bomb nominees more worthy? Well, *Shakespeare* looks artificial, with lots of jagged camera work and stark lighting, but aside from Kate Winslet's belated launch, its beauty runs skin-deep. If risk is a hallmark of art, *Life Is Beautiful* deserves recognition. But it will probably win for best foreign film, beating out Brazil's *Central Station*, a richer, more muted tale of a boy separated from his parents.

That leaves *The Thin Red Line*, Terrence Malick's lyrical antidote to Spielberg's literal naturalism. Malick's is a far more interesting, provocative film, despite its uneven execution and confusing impressionism. *Ryan* has a devastating beginning and end, but goes lost in the middle, hypochondriac through a miracle of combat clichés. *The Thin Red Line* never seems to begin or end like war itself, it is all middle.

For those who watch, however, the Oscars are about the stars, not the movies—what they wear, and how they act when they win or lose. In the best-actor race, *Ryan*'s Tom Hanks is the only legit favorite with *Las Vegas* odds-makers. But

he has twice before (Alvin Karpis, *Forrest Gump*), and does anyone really want to see him get up there and blunder through another outburst of gibbering, scripted spontaneity? Why can't actors act when they win awards? After Benigni, the Vegas favorite in British English Ian McKellen for *Goth and Monsters*, followed by Nick Nait (Alfonso), Benigni, then Edward Norton (*American History X*). Watch out for Benigni—his surprise win at the Screen Actors Guild, which represents the academy's largest voting block, could herald an upset. Nait gives the performance of his life as a desperate lawyer in *Alfonso*, Paul Schneider's mature tale of infidelity abuse in a small-town New England village. But it is doubtful that enough academy members saw, or liked, it.

The screen race is more dirt-cut. Although Fernando Montenegro was spellbinding in *Central Station*, if the academy embraces an older, underappreciated Portuguese-speaking actress, it will be a strange and wonderful thing. Meryl Streep dies convincingly of cancer in a bad movie (*One True Thing*)—even there, done that—and Emily Watson does an amazing impression of an over-extended artist who dies of multiple sclerosis in the arty melodrama *Mary and Max*. But the race comes down to an Elizabethan duel between *Shakespeare*, an Australian, and Geoffrey Pafros, an American. *Shakespeare* is slightly favored, perhaps because him is the more severe role. But give it to Geoffrey. She was sexy, passionate, witty—and she put the love in *Shakespeare* in *Love* (Ptyher's conspicuously uncommuted co-star Joseph Fiennes).

The supporting categories are anyone's guess. Among the men, Billy Bob Thornton deserves to win for his recently bare as a singlet in *A Simple Plan*, but the role is more-or-less derivative of *Sliver Ride*. The Golden Globes chose Ed Harris. The *Thomas Sowell* is the dog that the voters could pick. Robert Downey Jr. has a serious chance as a wily lawyer in *A Civil Action*—and he won the vote. The competition is equally tight in the female support category, in which Kathy Bates (*Primary Colors*) and Lynn Collins (*Goth and Monsters*) are strong contenders. But if there is any justice, Judi Dench, who put the crowning touch on *Shakespeare*, should win.

Meanwhile, Spielberg has a lock on best director. Original script most definitely goes to *Shakespeare*. And watch *Ryan* and *Shakespeare* drive up most of the technical awards, although *The Thin Red Line* should take cinematography and *Shakespeare* has an edge in costume. As for the remaining categories, who knows? Who cares?

But Cannes can root for the National Film Board's *Swimmers* and *Thirteen Summers* up for best documentary short. Expect director Norman Jewison to give a wryly crafted acceptance speech for the Irving G. Thalberg award, which recognizes his body of work. And co-pinkies-everywhere can hope the camera catches a mortified expression as the face of Hollywood babe Warren Beatty (John, *Shakespeare*) when veteran director Eli Kazan—who ratted on his Hollywood friends during the McCarthy blacklist era—gets an honorary award. *Oscar* loves a good bit of history. □



Pafros, fumes in *Shakespeare in Love*: the belle of the awards ball

Hanks in *Saving Private Ryan*: the *Las Vegas* favorite in the best-actor category has won twice before

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KUBRICK AT WORK:
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FILMS/OBITUARY

Unblinking visionary

He was the spirit of modern American cinema, a misanthrope with a cold, monocular eye and an uncompromising persona. Director Stanley Kubrick, whose classic films include *Dr. Strangelove*, 2001, *A Space Odyssey* and *A Clockwork Orange*, died of natural causes at age 70 last week in his country estate in Hertfordshire, near London. He leaves his third wife, Christine, and their three daughters. The notoriously reclusive filmmaker had just put the finishing touches on *Eyes Wide Shut*, a story of erotic obsession starring Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman as sexual psychologists. With an ailing deadline, and a shoot that dragged on for 18 months, there were fears the film might never be finished. But executives at Warner Bros. insist it is complete and will be released in mid-July. It is as if Kubrick, famous for controlling every last detail of his movies, would not even let death intrude on his schedule until he was ready.

Precision was craft with a dictatorial precision that recalled the arrogance of Orson Welles and Alfred Hitchcock. Kubrick forged a unique balance between European taste and American ambition. He was a true original, creating the template for cult-classic auteurs such as Francis Ford Coppola and Steven Spielberg. "He copied no one, while all of us were scrambling to imitate him," said Spielberg. Kubrick made movies about men with elaborate plans, rational men who lose their rationality to a world beyond their control—the professor infatuated by a child in *Lolita*, the nuclear war-torn in *Dr. Strangelove* or *How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, the astronauts betrayed by NASA in *2001*, the *Space Odyssey* and the psychotic writer in *The Shining*, who fills an entire novel with the sentence "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy."

Kubrick, himself an obsessive workaholic, lived in his own world. Sequestered in England since the early 1960s, he would summon Hollywood to his doorstep, recreating the interiors of Vietnam, the war rooms of the Pentagon and the depths of outer space in the safe quarantine of the studio. Kubrick was a man of phobias. His fear of infection led him to ban anyone with a cold from the set, and he would demand that any car in which he was a passenger be driven no faster than 55 km an hour. He was also a man of power, a Hollywood director who shunned Hollywood, a licensed pilot who developed a prohibitive fear of flying, a control freak who insisted control freaks. "He's a genius," said *Clockwork Orange* star Malcolm McDowell, quoted in John Baxter's 1997 biography, *Stanley Kubrick: "But his humour" is black as charcoal. I wonder about his... humanity.*

Born in New York City in 1928, Kubrick was a teenage prodigy who was money playing chess and was hired as a staff photographer by *Look* magazine at 17. Immersing himself in European cinema at the Museum of Modern Art, he mastered a variety of genres, from film noir to science fiction. But he was especially obsessed with the horrors of war, from the First World War drama of *Pathe's Glory* (1937) to the Roman carnage of *Spartacus* (1960), from the nuclear satire of *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) to the Vietnam shock of *Full Metal Jacket* (1967). In the year of *The Thin Red Line* and *Saving Private Ryan*, the stark pathology of Kubrick's earlier movies resonates indelibly—the last was in fact his last picture. Kubrick was a voyeur in the pure sense, as unblinking recovery staring down the void with eyes wide open.

B.D.J.

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Allan Fotheringham



In Valium West, politicians aim to entertain

Legged has it that it was Angus MacIsaac, one of the founders of the CCP, who first observed "In the Mezzanine, politics is a disease. In Quebec a religion, in Ontario a business, on the Prairies a crime. In British Columbia? Bureaucracy."

This must be understood to understand the present day where the Mezzanine, taking time out from live coverage of stocks in Alberta and reeling out their patent to Disney, in the dead of night read the faces of the provincial premier while a TV crew, by all happenstance, is standing on the lawn, lights ablaze.

We must realize that all three of the last B.C. premiers—the fourth, a clearly rattled Glen Clark being absent at the moment—have had their careers ruined by scandal. Old Angus knew his areas.

Wacky Bennett, who ruled Kelowna for two decades, 1953-1972, was derailed himself—he could afford to be so, a millionaire out of his Okanagan Valley hardware empire. But his forestry adviser, one Robert Somers, became the first cabinet minister in British Columbia with history to go to jail.

Thrown into the shambles for accepting such cheery bribes as a rug from the B.C. timber barons, he should have been imprisoned on the simple basis of bed woe. He rolled up a piano tuner.

Wacky had the Rev. Phyllis (Pat) Gosselin, who while urging obedience to the law as highway minister was convicted of speeding and driving offences and had his driver's licence suspended. He also was fined \$1,000 for contempt of court and once sped away after running over a dog in Vancouver's most posh suburb, Shaughnessy Heights, only to be apprehended by an auto patrol who had witnessed the deed.

In a passionate plea for understanding as the legislature one day, the disciple of the Lord cried out "If I'm telling a lie, it's because I believe I'm telling the truth!"

There was the delightfully named Waldo Skilling, Wacky's favourite cabinet minister and constant bridge partner, who showed a female Conservative opponent during a radio debate, and got into trouble, while drunk, at attempting to walk up the down escalator in the Hotel Vancouver at a Social Credit convention.

Wacky's successor, the NDP's mercurial Dave Barrett, would

never steal a dime, his main problem during his first year being having to sack a cabinet minister for being found intoxicated within a 30-yard view of the premier's office window.

How was he to know that his finance minister, as later alleged, was siphoning funds from Nanaimo bridge games into destinations who-knows-where, a matter that is going to be resolved in the criminal courts some day soon?

His successor, Milt Mac Bennett, also known as Bill, was so driven by his father that he was not allowed to stay after school or join a team to play sports as he had to work in the hardware store.

The major problem as premier was the cabinet minister who was so bright, when he heard a broker from an export service to come up to his hotel room, to change it on his plastic wheelchair—whoops!—continued his government address.

Milt Mac escaped from office close, but then tarnished his and the family reputation by—already an easy millionaire—acting as an insider trader whenever he from yet another timber baron and selling stock minutes before the Toronto Stock Exchange cancelled trading on the news. After thousands court rulings that made his lawyer rich (i.e., rich), he is a bruised man.

In Valium West, the story of The Zebra, who wears wooden shoes so as to keep the woodpeckers away from his head, is a classic above all others. Caught accepting, in the middle of the night in a Bayshore Inn suite, a large brown envelope filled with cash from a Taiwan billionaire, he fled his premises to write a gardening column—his first Peter Principle posting.

Following him, Harcourt's secret mobile did anything wrong, except to never track down what that long-ago NDP finance minister was doing with all that bribe loot extracted from B.C. oil deals in running shoes in Nanaimo who thought their losses were going, possibly, to charities in Chad.

And as for Mr. Clark, he was last seen—penned by TV cameras—on the lawn outside the church where we were trying to bury the long-haired Jack Webster last week. And it was only fitting, in relation to the latest B.C. political scene, that someone at the Webster wake recited his favourite story.

It seems that Shakespeare and Robbo Burns died and went to heaven, to be met by St. Peter at the Pearly Gates who informed them they would be admitted only if they could compose a poem containing the word Timbuctu.

Shakespeare: I'm dead, I'm dead! (For away is a lovely land/that across the ocean flows/Comes across Timbuctu.)

St. Peter: Very good, Bill. You're in Mr. Burns'.

Burns: Tim and I are rolling west/And speed those ladies in a tux/Since they were there and we were two/Tracked out and Timbuctu.

It was a B.C. funeral.



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